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ABSTRACT

The Advertising Division of the proceedings contains the following 20 papers: "Business and Communication Programs' Contribution in Advertising Education and Research: A Comparison" (Tien-tsung Lee); "Attributions of Advertising Influence Via Third-Person Perceptions: A Review and Synthesis" (Don Umphrey); "Advertising Agency Web Sites: Presence of Branding Content & Capabilities" (Daniel Marshall Haygood); "Advertising in the Islamic World: The Portrayal of Women in Egyptian Television Commercials" (Jami A. Fullerton and Azza Ahmad); "Advertising and the First Amendment: The 'Central Hudson' Analysis and the Impact of 'Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly'" (Michael Hoefges); "Reactions, Perceptions and Evaluations of Local Television Advertising" (Ronald J. Elcombe); "Is Culture Going Global? A Comparison of South Korean and U.S. Newspaper Ads in the New Millennium" (Hye-Jin Paek, Michelle R. Nelson and Douglas M. McLeod); "Contextual Effects of Advertising on the WWW" (Chang-Hoan Cho); "The Roles of Emotion and Cognition in Attitude Formation from a Product Trial Under Different Purchase Decision Involvement Conditions" (Joo Young Kim and SungWook Shim); "Cross-Cultural Differences in Perceived Risk of Online Shopping" (Hanjun Ko, SungWook Shim, Jaemin Jung and JooYoung Kim); "The Use of Relationship Marketing Strategy in Media Advertising Sales" (Karie L. Hollerbach); "Anti-Smoking Advertisements: The Effects of Corporate Credibility on Ad Credibility" (Jennifer A. Robinson, Angela M. Adema, Lucian Dinu and Ignatius Fosu); "Longitudinal Content Analysis of Gender Imprints Left by Primetime Network Television Commercials: How Advertisers Portray The Gender of Their Prospects" (Dennis J. Ganahl and Kwangok Kim); "Environmental Determinants of Foreign Entry Mode Choice of U.S. Based Transnational Advertising Agencies" (Jaemin Jung); "Anti-Drinking and Driving PSAs: Persuasive Appeals and Images" (Kasie Mitchell Roberson and Roger C. Saathoff); "The Decision to Major in Advertising: Gender Differences and Other Factors" (Jami A. Fullerton and Don Umphrey); "The Development of Distance Learning Courses: A Training Camp" (Robyn Blakeman and Ralph Hanson); "Advertising Skepticism in Young Teens" (Coy Callison and Sabrina M. Neeley); "Multimedia for Mortals: Rationale, Resources, and Tips for

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Integrating Visuals, Audio, and Video Into Lectures for Advertising Courses" (James Hamilton); "E-Business in the Marketing Communication Curriculum: Integrate, Don't Isolate" (Jim Pokrywczynski). (RS)

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Business and Communication Programs' Contribution to Advertising Education and Research: A Comparison

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Business and Communication Programs' Contribution to Advertising Education and Research: A Comparison

Abstract

The measurement of individual scholars' productivity is a popular topic in all academic disciplines. Two recent influential studies compared the employment backgrounds of researchers whose publications appeared in three leading academic journals in advertising. The data indicated that business professors produced more publications than communication educators. The present research expands the scope and examines the following areas related to advertising education: whether business or communication scholars train more future advertising practitioners and publish more research articles, and whether business or communication students are more likely to win advertising competitions.

Business and Communication Programs' Contribution to Advertising Education and Research: A Comparison

An on-going debate in higher education is whether advertising should be taught in a business or communication (including mass communication and journalism) program. Some argue that advertising is under one of the Marketing Four Ps (price, product, place, and promotion) so business, or marketing in particular, is a better "home" for advertising. Others believe that the production of advertising messages falls in the domain of communication.

One possible way to address this debate is to examine whether communication or business scholars have made a greater contribution to advertising research. Two studies conducted in the 1990s named the scholars with the most publications in three leading advertising research journals (Barry 1990; Henthorne et al., 1998). They concluded that scholars in marketing programs have published more than their counterparts in advertising departments. Examination of individual researchers' publication productivity is common in various disciplines, as will be reviewed in the literature section later.

When determining which discipline (business/marketing or communication/advertising) makes a greater contribution to advertising education and research, the present author argues, focusing only on publication productivity in academic journals is too narrow an approach. The present study seeks to evaluate, using measures in addition to counting research articles, the contribution to advertising education by both business and communication disciplines. Specifically, this research compares whether business or communication educators train more future advertising practitioners, publish more advertising research articles and textbooks, and whether students in communication or business programs are more likely to win student advertising competitions.

Background Information

A brief history of advertising education

Certain disciplines of knowledge, such as History and Mathematics, have been a staple in higher education for centuries. In comparison, advertising did not become a popular profession until the first half of the 20th century (O'Quinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2000). Accordingly advertising was not widely taught in college until that time (Schultze, 1982).

Even a few decades ago, there were still discussions about whether the craft of advertising could and should be taught in college (versus learned on the job). More recently, scholars and practitioners are still investigating whether a college degree in advertising is necessary to secure a job in an advertising agency, and whether such training helps in career advancement (*Advertising Age*, 1985; Brunton, 1986; Deckinger, Brink, Primavera, & Katzenstein, 1989; Hunt, Chonko, & Wood, 1987; Lauterborn, 1987; Otnes, Spooner, & Treise, 1993; Rotfeld, 1985, 1994). A general consensus from such discussions is that an undergraduate or graduate advertising degree is not necessary for employment in an ad agency, but may provide an edge in career advancement.

For example, Hunt, Chonko, and Wood (1987) surveyed advertising professionals and suggested that a degree in advertising may have a positive incremental effect on income in comparison to training in other academic areas. However, individuals who majored in business appeared to be almost as successful as those who majored in advertising.

Two journalism/communication programs may have been the earliest to offer an education in advertising (probably much earlier than the majority of business schools): the University of Missouri-Columbia (1908) (http://web.missouri.edu/~jouradv) and the University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign (1959) (http://www.comm.uiuc.edu/Advertising). Nevertheless, because advertising is a part of marketing's 4 Ps (price, product, place, and promotion) (O'Quinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2000), some people believe that advertising should be a subject in business, especially marketing.

In the institution where the present author taught previously, there was constant discussion about whether the advertising concentration in communication should become a track in marketing. Similar debates – such as whether advertising and public relations should be taken out of journalism/communication and moved to business -- have occurred in other institutions as well (Falb, 1992).

The Current State and Future of Advertising Education

Although some educators have the impression that advertising is typically a concentration in journalism/communication (e.g., Falb, 1992), little research has been conducted to verify this assumption. The most recent study found by the present author was by Applegate (1994). He found that 36 universities provided advertising education at the master's level, and 30 of them offered a major/minor/specialization and were accredited by the ACEJMC (Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass

Communication). Among the list Applegate compiled, only three programs were accredited by the AASCB (American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business). This result suggests that most advertising programs are included in a journalism/communication school. A more current study on the undergraduate level is in order.

Some advocates believe that Advertising, Public Relations and Marketing should be merged and be expanded into a new discipline called Integrated Marketing Communications (IMC) or Strategic Communications (Delorme & Nowak, 1997; Griffin & Pasadeos, 1998; Rose & Miller, 1994). At least two of the nation's most respected journalism schools -- the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, and the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Colorado at Boulder -- offer a master's degree in IMC (http://www.medill.northwestern.edu; http://www.colorado.edu/Journalism/sjmcgrad/thema.htm). The University of Missouri-Columbia and University of Wisconsin-Madison (http://journalism.missouri.edu/advertising; http://www.journalism.wisc.edu) also emphasize Strategic Communication in their programs.

A possible reason behind this trend is that it may be necessary to merge all communication functions into a single commanding unit in order to effectively serve a client's needs in today's business world (Delmore, 2000; Nowak & Phelps, 1994). This is probably why a majority of advertising agencies offer PR and promotional services. Therefore, students need to be trained in a multi-disciplinary manner in order to work in multi-purpose agencies (Griffin & Pasadeos, 1998; Rose & Miller, 1994). According to Frisby, Reber, and Cameron (2001), combining advertising and public relations into a strategic communication program is a growing trend, and student feedback has been positive.

Measurement of Contribution

As stated in the beginning of this paper, many academic disciplines, such as telecommunication, speech communication, personal selling and sales management, criminal justice, public administration and public affairs, marketing, management, and chemistry, periodically assess individual scholars' publication productivity (Aysen, Vitell, & Rose, 2000; Bottle, Ossein, Bottle, & Adesanva, 1994; Douglas, 1996; Hickson, Stacks, & Amsbary, 1989; Long, Bowers, Barnett, & White, 1998; Moncrief, Marshall, & Watkins, 2000; Sorensen, 1994; Vincent, 1991).

Barry (1990) and Henthorne, LaTour, and Loraas (1998) conducted two studies about.publication productivity in advertising. Examining three leading journals in advertising research (*Journal of Advertising*, *Journal of Advertising Research*, and *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*), Barry found that 37% of the published articles published until 1988 were written by marketing faculty, and Henthoren et al. reported that marketing faculty produced 64.6% of the articles in the same journals from 1989 through 1996. In comparison, faculty in advertising, journalism and communication departments contributed 11% of the articles in the three journals according to Barry, and 13% according to Henthoren and associates.

The difference in terms of the quantity of contribution between business and communication faculty is rather surprising. Also, the present author argues that research productivity is not the only way to assess contribution to advertising education. A new and broader investigation is therefore in order.

There are various aspects of higher education in addition to publication in research journals. For example, authoring textbooks is an important contribution. Also, which discipline provides *more* training (as measured by number of students) and offers *better* training (as measured by winning competitions participated in by both business and communication students), should be investigated as well. In sum, the present study examines three areas of education: knowledge production (research articles), knowledge dissemination (textbook authorship and number of students taught), and performance results (students winning competitions).

Research Questions and Method

To compare the contribution to advertising education by business (including marketing) versus communication (including journalism and mass communication) programs, the present study investigates the following research questions:

RQ1: Which type of program educates more advertising students?

RQ2: Which type of program wins more student advertising competitions?

RQ3: Which faculty produces more textbooks?

RQ4: Which faculty produces more articles in three leading advertising journals?

To answer the first research question, two lists of advertising programs were examined. The first list was generated by the College Board (2000), and the second was provided by the American Advertising Federation's website (http://www.aaf.org). The former publication is a directory of academic majors offered by various colleges and universities. It is a convenient source for high school students to learn which institutions offer the degree they want to earn. A total of 174 advertising programs in the United States are listed. However, only 136 of them offer at least a bachelor's degree. Programs that offer an Associate Degree or a certificate are excluded from the present analysis. However, this list is not completely satisfactory because this list includes only advertising majors. A few programs offer education in advertising (such as a sequence) but not a distinct major and therefore are excluded by this publication. For instance, two highly respected communication programs at the University of Iowa and the University of Minnesota are not on this list. Therefore, a more comprehensive list of programs (AAF college chapters) was necessary. According to the second list obtained from the American Advertising Federation website (http://www.aaf.org), a total of 210 colleges have an AAF chapter.

A trained research assistant (RA), who was an undergraduate student double-majoring in business and advertising, was employed to search online to obtain information about each program listed on either the first or second list. The research assistant investigated the web sites of the colleges and then specific departments to learn whether the advertising sequence or courses are offered in their business/marketing or journalism/communication programs.

These two lists are used to count whether an advertising program is more likely to be under communication or business in higher education.

Two other important sources of information on advertising programs include the AEJMC (Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication) membership directory and a booklet series called "*Where Shall I Go to Study Advertising and Public Relations?*" edited by Billy I. Ross and Keith F. Johnson. Neither is used in the present study because of their sampling bias toward journalism/communication programs.

For the second research question, a third list, the AAF National Student Advertising Competition (NSAC) winners (from 1973 to 2001), was obtained (from the AAF website) and analyzed by the present author. Although there are a number of advertising contests participated in by students, such as One Show, there are obvious reasons why the AAF competition was selected for the present study.

Competitions such as One Show focus on the creative side of advertising. Naturally visual communication and fine arts programs have an unfair advantage over business majors. The latter may not choose to participate in the first place. By contrast, participants of the prominent AAF competition come from both business and communication programs, and it emphasizes both the marketing and creative sides of advertising. Therefore, the NSAC attracts students from both disciplines, and neither has an advantage for winning.

After a list of winning teams was obtained from the AAF website, the official website of each team's institution was examined by the present author to determine whether an advertising club or an advertising campaign class was offered in its journalism/communication or business schools or departments. Several schools (such as Michigan State University and the University of West Florida) were multiple winners in those 29 competitions.

To answer the third research question, the present author generated a convenient sample of 17 popular introductory and advanced advertising textbooks, and the RA was assigned to investigate the professional background of all the authors. Many of the books include the names of institutions (either a university or a firm) where the authors teach, and the RA checked their university websites to find out whether those college professors are in business or journalism/communication (see Appendix). Authors from the industry were excluded from the final analysis.

Finally, to answer the fourth research question, the present author collected a list of all articles in the three leading advertising research journals published from 1998 to 2000. The December 2000 issue of *Journal of Advertising Research* is excluded because it is a special issue that reprinted highly acclaimed articles that appeared in the same journal from the 60s to 80s. Although the *Journal of Advertising Education* is a prominent journal in advertising education, its close affiliation with the AEJMC (Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication) implies a pro-communication bias and therefore was not included for analysis.

The present author and RA divided the task of identifying authors of journal articles from this study period. A total of 441 single and co-authors were identified. The departmental or professional affiliation of each author (both faculty and graduate students) was recorded. Their affiliations were divided into five categories: communication (including journalism, mass communication, telecommunication, and advertising programs housed in mass communication or journalism schools), business (including marketing), other disciplines (such as political science and psychology), industry, and unidentifiable. Editor's comments, book reviews, and reprints of articles from early years were excluded. Only authors affiliated with either business and communication programs were counted in the final analysis.

Findings

The College Board list reveals that among the 136 programs examined, 9 (6.6%) of them are in an art program, 21 (15.4%) in business, 96 (70.6%) in journalism/communication, two (1.5%) are independent (in Arts & Sciences or Marketing Communication), while 8 (5.9%) were not identified (no information was found from those institutions' official websites, or those institutions do not have websites).

The AAF chapter list provides a similar picture. Among the 210 programs on its list, 4 (1.9%) of them are under art/design (such as New York's Fashion Institute of Technology), 31 (14.8%) under business, 140 (66.7%) under communication/journalism, 6 (2.86%) are independent (such as in the department of Media Marketing or Arts & Sciences), and 29 (13.8%) of them are unidentifiable.

The chi-square statistics in Table 1 show that the difference between business and communication programs is significant. Therefore, the answer to RQ1 is that communication schools are more likely than business schools to have an advertising program. Therefore, communication programs are likely to educate more future advertising practitioners than business schools.

As for the 29 AAF National Student Advertising Competitions, on 24 occasions (83 %) it was won by a communication program, and 4 occasions (14 %) by a business program, and one was unidentifiable: the 1980 winner, San Antonia College. The chi-square between 24 and 4 is 14.28 ($p < .05$). Therefore, the difference is significant. The answer to the second research question (RQ2) is that students in communication programs are more likely than their counterparts in business to win AAF's National Student Advertising Competition. However, this finding has a logical problem that will be discussed in the next section.

Among the 35 authors and co-authors of the 17 advertising textbooks, 10 (28.6%) work in the industry, 12 (34.3%) teach in a journalism/communication program, 9 (25.7%) in a business program, and 4 (11.4%) are unidentifiable. The chi-square test between 12 and 9 is not significant ($p > .05$). The answer to the third research question (RQ3) is there is no difference between business and communication faculty in terms of their authorship of advertising textbooks.

Finally, among the 441 authors of articles in three advertising research journals, 289 (65.5%) are associated with a business program, 76 (17.2%) with a communication program, 11 (2.5%) with other disciplines, 63 (14.3%) are from the industry, 1 (.2%) was unidentifiable, and 1 (.2%) was a faculty member with a joint appointment from both business and communication. The chi-square between 289 and 76 was 124.3 ($df = 1$, $p. < .01$). Therefore, the answer to RQ4 is that business scholars are more likely than communication educators to be contributors of advertising journal articles. All figures reported above can be found in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

Conclusion and Discussion

The present study's findings show that communication programs educate more advertising majors, and produce more competition winners, than their business counterparts. There is no difference between the two disciplines in terms of textbook authorship. However, clearly business faculty and graduate students produce many more articles in leading advertising research journals. Such mixed results make it difficult to conclude which discipline makes a greater contribution to advertising education.

The picture becomes more complicated upon a closer examination. The majority of advertising programs operate in a communication/journalism school. Because of such a proportion, it is understandable that communication programs are more likely to win student advertising competitions (the AAF's NSAC). Thus, it cannot be concluded that journalism/communication schools do a superior job educating students in advertising. Furthermore, there are some highly respected programs (both in business and journalism/communication) that choose not to participate in the NSAC for financial reasons (such as the University of Florida's advertising department). Therefore, analyzing the NSAC winners list may not be an ideal way to compare the performance of these two disciplines.

In fact, if we take a closer look at the winning list, we will see that the NSAC winners in two recent years were business programs (The George Washington University in 1998 and UCLA in 1999). One possible explanation is that IMC (Integrated Marketing Communications) is the norm in today's advertising campaigns, and business schools may have a competitive edge in designing an overall marketing plan.

In addition, the statistically insignificant difference between business and journalism/communication teachers in terms of authoring textbooks suggests that both disciplines are equally qualified in disseminating knowledge in advertising.

Superficially, the communication faculty appears to be less productive than business faculty in terms of journal article publication. However, like the proportional logic between NSAC winners and the number of academic programs (there are more communication programs so naturally they are more likely to win the NSAC), it is understandable why the business faculty publishes more articles. There are additional reasons to be examined.

First, a large number of advertising faculty members (and the majority of which teach in communication programs) are former advertising professionals with impressive agency experiences. They did not receive graduate degrees that train them to publish in academic journals. A convenient sample of several advertisements for advertising professors on the Chronicle of Higher Education website shows that agency experience is preferred if not required. Having few or no publications does not mean these people are not good teachers. In fact, most students would probably prefer having a former copywriter or media director -- rather than a heavily published quantitative researcher who has less agency experience -- to teach skill courses, which seem to be the majority of classes offered in most advertising programs.

Second, even if a large number of former professionals are, or if they so choose can become, prolific authors of research articles, they are still out-numbered by researchers trained in business schools (and likely to teach in that discipline). Only a few communication schools in this country train doctoral students in advertising. In comparison, there are many more business schools than communication programs in higher education, and naturally there are many more doctoral programs in business and marketing. Graduate students and faculty in the latter group are certainly more likely to produce many more articles in academic journals than their communication counterparts.

The present study reveals no convincing conclusion about whether business or communication programs make a greater contribution to advertising education. Future studies can approach the same research questions more specifically, such as determining where top advertising professionals (from both the creative and business side) were educated and their opinions on which discipline better prepared them for their career. Employers can be surveyed about their preference of new employees' educational background. In addition, future authors can distinguish sub-disciplines in advertising (such as management and creative) in their investigation. For instance, the creative side of advertising should probably be taught in journalism/communication programs, while business schools may be better at training future account executives. Another interesting topic is whether and how advertising is taught differently in communication/journalism and business programs.

TABLE 1

	Comm.	Business	Chi-square
College Board majors	96	21	48.08**
AAF college chapters	140	31	69.48**
AAF NSAC winners	24	4	14.28**
Textbook authors	12	9	0.43
Journal articles authors	289	76	124.3**

**p < .01

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Appendix— Book list

1. Bruce G. Vandenbergh. Michigan State University = Communications
   Helen Katz = DDB Needham Worldwide (Industry)
   Advertising Principles. Lincolnwood, IL: NTC. 1999

2. Jim Avery. University of Alaska-Anchorage = Journalism & Public Communication
   Advertising Campaign Planning. Chicago: The Copy Workshop, 1997

3. Arnold M. Barban. University of Alabama = Communication
   Steven M. Cristol = Industry
   Frank J. Kopec = Industry
   Essentials of Media Planning. Lincolnwood, IL: NTC. 1993

4. Jim Surmanek = Industry
   Media Planning: A Practical Guide. NTC: 1996

5. Philip Ward Barton. Indiana University = Journalism/Communication
   Advertising Copywriting, 7th Edition. NTC, 1990

6. William F. Arens = Industry (adjunct, Mass Comm, San Diego State, not counted under communication)
   Contemporary Advertising, 7th Edition. Boston: Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 1999

7. Thomas C. O'Guinn. University of Illinois = Communications
   Chris T. Allen. University of Cincinnati = Marketing (Business)
   Richard J. Semenik. University of Utah = Marketing (Business)
   Advertising. Cincinnati, OH: South-Western, 2000

8. Terence A. Shimp. University of South Carolina = Marketing (Business)
   Advertising Promotion. Fort Worth, TX: Dryden, 2000

9. J. Thomas Russell. University of Georgia = Journalism and Mass Comm
   W. Ronald Lane. University of Georgia = Journalism and Mass Comm
   Kleppner's Advertising Procedure, 14th Edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999

10. Gerard T. Tellis. University of Southern California = Marketing (Business)
    Advertising and Sales Promotion Strategy. Reading, MH: Addison-Wesley, 1998

11. John R. Rossiter. Australian Graduate School of Management = Business
    Lany Percy = Industry
    Advertising Communications and Promotion Management. Boston, Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 1997

12. George E. Belch. San Diego State University = Marketing (Business)
    Michael A. Belch. San Diego State University = Marketing (Business)
    Advertising and Promotion, 4th Edition. Boston: Irwin, 1998

13. William Wells. University of Minnesota = Journalism and Mass Comm
    John Burnett. University of Denver = Marketing (Business)
    Sandra Moriarty. University of Colorado = Not Found
    Advertising Principles & Practice, 5th Edition. Prentice Hall, 2000

14. Courtland L. Bovee. Grossmont College = Not Found
    John V. Thill = Industry
    George P. Dovel = Industry
    Marian Burk Wood = Industry
    Advertising Excellence. New York, McGraw-Hill: 1995

15. S. Watson Dunn. University of Missouri-Columbia = Not Found (there is a Scott W. Dunn but he is in the Horticulture dept.)
    Arnold M. Barban. University of Alabama = Communication
    Dean M. Krugman. University of Georgia = Journalism and Mass Comm
    Leonard N. Reid. University of Georgia = Journalism and Mass Comm
    Advertising: Its Role in Modern Marketing, 7th Edition. Chicago, The Dryden Press: 1990

16. Don E. Schultz, Northwestern, Journalism/Communication
    Strategic Advertising Campaigns. NTC: 1990

17. Donald W. Jugenheimer. Fairleigh Dickinson University = Not Found
    Arnold M. Barban. University of Alabama = Communication
    Peter B. Turk. University of Akron = Marketing (Business)
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Attributions of Advertising Influence Via Third-Person Perceptions: A Review and Synthesis

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Abstract

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Third-person effect research has made important contributions to furthering an understanding of mass communication processes, but relatively few of these studies have focused on advertising. This paper both traces the theoretical roots of third-person perceptions in attribution theory and reviews and synthesizes the third-person literature, all with the goal of demonstrating how these streams of research can be useful to advertising researchers.

Attributions of Advertising Influence Via Third-Person Perceptions: A Review and Synthesis

Consumers A and B, women friends who share the same place of employment, get together for dinner at one of their homes. After eating, they chat and watch television. Among the commercials is a 30-second spot for a dandruff shampoo featuring a woman in the workplace who suffers a loss of prestige when her peers observe that she has white flakes on her black sweater. Although neither of the women comment on the advertisement, both pay attention to it and think about it.

As she watches the ad, Consumer A does not believe that she has dandruff but has noticed white flakes in the scalp and on the clothes of Consumer B. Because of this, she believes the commercial will have much more impact on Consumer B than on herself. The phenomenon of an individual being exposed to a media message and judging that its effects will be greater on others than on self is known as the third-person effect.

Consumer B reflects on the white flakes that she recently observed on the collar of her navy blue jacket. She realizes that she may have dandruff. She purchases the advertised brand and uses it for two weeks. Her dandruff disappears, and she believes the shampoo is responsible. This perceived causation between use of the shampoo and her dandruff disappearing may be explained in terms of attribution theory. According to Park (2001), this theory "relates to the processes individuals use to interpret events." (p. 223)

Since causations dealing with either self *or others* are explained using attribution theory (Park, 2001), the third-person effect is a function of attribution theory. The relationship between third-person phenomena and attribution theory has been explored in the most in-depth fashion by Paul, Salwen and Dupagne (2000) and Rucinski and Salmon (1990). More abbreviated tie-ins were traced both directly (David & Johnson, 1998; Gunther, 1991; Hoffner et al., 2001; Innes and Zeitz, 1988; McLeod, Detenber & Eveland, 2001; Shah, Faber & Youn, 1999) and indirectly (Atwood, 1994; Price, Huang & Tewksbury, 1997).

Attribution theory and third-person effect are both useful to advertising researchers but the older attribution theory has already received considerable attention. (For in-depth reviews relating the theory to consumer behavior and advertising, see Folkes, 1988; Mizerski, Golden & Kernan, 1979.) On the other hand, research on the third-person effect has been concentrated in the past decade and a half, and the issues surrounding it continue to be the focus of considerable research scrutiny. A meta-analysis of third-person research (Paul, Salwen & Dupagne, 2000) revealed a majority of the studies focused on either television or general mass media implications, and a relatively small ratio has included advertising.

The purpose of this paper is to review and synthesize the third-person literature as it applies to advertising. Despite the fact that most of the research does not deal specifically with advertising, an investigation of it reveals implications for advertising. Simultaneously, this paper will explore the relationship between third-person effect and attribution theory with the idea that an examination of the theoretical ties will help to further illuminate third-person perceptions from an advertising perspective. Suggestions also will be made for future research linking advertising with the third-person phenomenon.

Attribution Theory

The "father" of attribution theory is the Austrian-born social psychologist, Fritz Heider (Mizerski, Golden & Kernan, 1979) who introduced the theory in his 1958 book The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. Heider also introduced cognitive consistency theory (1946, 1958), sometimes known as balance theory, which shares common concerns with attribution theory.

In tracing the history of social psychology, Jones (1985) observed that early influencers on the thinking of Heider included both Brunswik and Lewin. Brunswik's (1933, 1952) research drawing distinctions between distal and proximal stimuli led to Heider's delineation between external and internal forces. Lewin, a Gestaltist who had a major impact on psychology throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Weiner, 1990), became acquainted with Heider in Berlin; the two were in continuous contact over the next 26 years (Jones, 1985). Heider was thusly influenced by the Gestalt school (Jaspars, Hewstone & Fincham, 1983).

Using a Gestalt approach, Heider "clearly swam against the mainstream of American behavioralism" (Jones, 1985, p. 88) by viewing individuals as actively motivated to seek goals. According to Jones (1985), Heider's assumptions were "shaped by broad traditions of functionalism, the subjectivism of Lewin, and the themes of cognitive organization and consistency implicit in Gestalt psychology" (p. 88).

Heider's perspective is commonly known as "naive psychology" (Folkes, 1988; Kelley & Michela, 1980). Focusing on interpersonal relationships, Heider believed people were "naive psychologists" who sought common-sense answers to understand the world around them and the behavior of others (Mizerski, et al., 1979; Weiner, 1990). Attribution theory is "based on the conviction that if we can capture the naive understandings of the person on the street, we can accurately infer . . . his other expectations and actions" (Jones, 1985, p. 89).

The empirical grounding for attribution theory was lacking in Heider's book (Kelley & Michela, 1980) but was subsequently provided with Jones and Davis' (1965) theory of correspondent inference. Also constructing the foundation of attribution theory was Kelley (1967), who tied attribution to Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparisons, the Schachter (1964) theory of emotion, and the work of Bem (1967).

Kelley's (1967) principle of covariance, "The Kelley Cube," is an important addition to attribution theory because, among other things, it sheds light on limited information processing (Mizerski, et al., 1979).

In examining these major contributions Mizerski, et al. (1979) observe, "attribution theory is not a single theory, but an evolution of theories that form a set of major developments in the area of causal attribution" (p. 123).

Third-Person Effect

Introducing the concept while coining the terminology "third-person effect" terminology was Davison (1983), a sociologist.

The researcher cited several things that provoked his thinking in regards to the theory, including reading an account of the following incident that occurred during World War II: A unit of African-American soldiers with white officers was stationed on the Pacific island of Iwo Jima. Learning of the location of these troops, the Japanese dropped propaganda leaflets stating that it was a white man's war and urging these soldiers to either desert or surrender. Despite the fact that this unit had already distinguished itself in battle, it was withdrawn the following day. The white officers apparently assumed the messages would have a negative effect on the African-American soldiers.

An example of research demonstrating clear-cut third-person perceptions focused on news coverage of events in the Middle East by individuals who were either pro-Israeli or pro-Palestinian (Perloff, 1989). Each side perceived that journalists and news coverage were biased against them. Both also believed that as result of the news coverage, attitudes of neutral others would sway against them and result in more positive feelings toward their antagonists. However, Perloff showed that news coverage did not produce changes in attitudes among neutral parties towards either Arabs or Jews. Thus, not only did this research measure third-person effects emanating from both sides of the same issue but also showed that assumptions made about attitude changes of third-persons were incorrect.

A decade after the introduction of the third-person effect, Perloff (1993) found overwhelming evidence in favor of it. Only one of 14 studies reviewed failed to support the notion.

The ramifications of this research are tremendous. According to Perloff (1989), the third-person effect provides a "dramatically different approach" in the way researchers think about media effects. Prior to this, much of the research used the media as a starting point and examined its influence on the audience's awareness or evaluation of an issue. Third-person effect research starts with the audience.

The Roots of Third-Person Effect in Attribution Theory

Third-person research follows in the spirit of attribution theory, and this may be the most important theoretical link between them.

In reviewing available third-person literature, Perloff (1993) stated that the third-person perception "fits into the larger body of theoretical and empirical work on the nature and structure of laypersons' belief systems" (p. 168). Perloff's observations coincide with Heider's (1958) view of people acting as "naive psychologists."

Heider wrote, "In everyday life we form ideas about other people and about social situations" (p. 5). This sentiment has been echoed by researchers in the third-person tradition. For example, Price, Huang and Tewksbury (1997) observed, " . . . people possess common-sense theories about the media" that "organize expectations about and reactions to specific media messages" (p. 527). (In fact, perceived common sense of self and others produced significant results in a McLeod, Detenber and Eveland (2001) study of third-person perceptions.) Gunther and Thorson (1992) speculated about perceived media effects in this way: "Each individual conceives a hypothetical world of others' thoughts, opinions, attitudes and ideas" (p. 576).

The third-person concept has been related to the fundamental attribution error (Gunther,1991; McLeod, et al., 2001; Paul, Salwen & Dupagne, 2000; Rucinski & Salmon, 1990). This is the idea (Jones & Nisbett, 1972; Monson & Snyder, 1977) that attributions of behaviors relating to the self are based on external, situational factors (i.e. I failed to finish my conference paper before the deadline because I was so busy advising students.), while attributions of the behaviors of others come from stable personality traits. (i.e. My colleague failed to finish her conference paper before the deadline due to a lack of discipline and the disorganization in her life.) What I didn't know about my colleague is that she was involved in an emotionally difficult circumstance of arranging a new living situation for an aging parent. Thus, there is a large gap between what I perceived and the actual truth, and this constitutes the fundamental attribution error.

With the idea that situational factors are applied to self--and not others--(and the fact that exposure to media content is a situational factor), the work of Jones and Nisbett (1972) is seemingly at odds with third-person theory. However, the following two streams of research were traced by Rucinski and Salmon (1990) to demonstrate the theoretical fit between third-person effects and attribution theory:

1) Later research indicates that self-attributions are not always based on situational factors. According to Jones' (1979) ideas about "effectance motivation," individuals make self-attributions to situational factors only when they feel no threat to their sense of personal control.

2) Ross and Fletcher (1985) concluded that an individual's attributions of both self and others may be explained in terms of individuals attempting to perceive themselves in the best possible light. If this is the case, individuals may flatter themselves by believing they are less vulnerable to media impact than others. This self-serving bias has been observed in third-person research (Lasorsa, 1989; Perloff, 1993) and is more

pronounced when estimating the effects of negative messages (Eveland & McLeod, 1999; Shah, Faber & Youn, 1999).

Eveland, et al. (1999) pointed to these incorrect attributions as they linked third-person effect research to attribution theory. When it comes to estimating media effects, according to these researchers, people may draw upon "the most naive theory. . ." (p. 281). This theory and its elements were identified by McLeod, et al. (2001) as a version of the "magic bullet" theory with the idea that greater effects go hand-in-hand with greater exposure.

Gunther (1991) also provided a theoretical tie between attribution and third-person effect by citing Jones (1979). Gunther observed that while attribution theory usually focuses on behavioral outcomes, it also has relevancy to both attitude change and related cognitive responses. This observation is consistent with the Petty and Cacioppo (1996) review linking attribution theory and attitudes.

The attributional concern of false consensus bias, the tendency to view one's own behaviors, beliefs and opinions as being typical (Ross, Greene & House, 1977) may not be in contradiction with third-person perceptions (Innes & Zeitz, 1988). These researchers provided evidence that third-person attributions are made under different circumstances, but this stream of research has received little subsequent attention.

Third-person researchers (Atwood, 1994; Hoffner, et al., 2001; Paul et al., 2000) related third-person perceptions to Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory, the idea that individuals evaluate themselves by comparing with others. Festinger's 1954 theory was used by Kelley (1967) to help construct the foundation of attribution theory.

Hoffner et al. (2001) tied third-person perceptions to downward comparisons which are used by individuals to elevate their own self-images by casting others in a negative light (Wills, 1981).

While providing further evidence of the third-person/attribution theoretical tie, the two observations made below may serve as guiding principles in understanding the third-person phenomenon.

1) While there are cases where individuals possess characteristics (i.e. special knowledge concerning a topic) allowing them to realistically assess they would be less affected, people are more apt to have third-person perceptions in situations that "reflect both ego-supporting and self-enhancing comparative judgments. . ." (Price & Tewksbury, 1996, p. 124; also see Brosius & Engel, 1996). In a review of attribution literature, Ross and Fletcher (1985), wrote that the self-flattering tendencies of individuals is "one of the best established, most often replicated, findings in social psychology" (p. 104). In a third-person study Paul et al. (2000) related this self-flattering characteristic to the literature on biased optimism.

2) In tying third-person research to other communication models, Perloff (1993) observed that "what a person brings to the mass media is frequently more important than the content that appears on the screen. .

. paper. . . or airwaves" (p. 168). Thus, personal characteristics would seem to carry stronger predictive power than message or media characteristics, a notion consistent with attribution theory (Rucinski & Salmon, 1990).

In the review below the third-person literature is broken into five frequently addressed categories in the literature, each of which is tied to attribution theory. These categories, which sometimes reveal overlapping concerns, include social distance, issue salience, source and message characteristics, media, and demographics. Advertising implications have been placed at the end of each of those sections and at the conclusion of the paper. When a study is cited dealing directly with advertising or advertising in comparison to other media concerns, the author names are bold-faced.

Social Distance

Social distance is one recurring variable in third-person research that contains the attributional concerns of both personal and self-enhancing comparative judgments. Gunther (1995) concluded that the third-person effect was more apt to occur when others were perceived as different from themselves.

Education has been tied to the idea of social distance and resulted in increased third-person effects (Peiser & Peter, 2000; Tiedge, et al., 1991).

Social distance in the Mutz (1989) study may have led to greater third-person perceptions among the Stanford University faculty and staff when perceiving others who were not on campus. Similarly, students in Singapore had third-person perceptions of the general public but not of other students (Wu & Koo, 2001). Hoffner et al. (2001) discovered perceptions of greater effects of television violence when individuals in a local community perceived others in the U.S. In assessing the affects of anti-smoking messages, **Henriksen and Flora** (1999) found children assessed greater impact of the messages on "other peers" than "best friends," and with safer-sex messages there were greater third-person perceptions on "others" compared to "best friends" (**Chapin**, 2000). Cohen et al. (1988) discovered linear increases in third-person perceptions as social distance increased from "other Stanford students" to "other Californians" to the "public opinion at large." White (1997) reported similar linear findings. The linear relationship did not occur among high school students when the third persons were identified as students, non-students, and people (**Duck, Hogg & Terry**, 1999). Gunther (1991) measured subjects perceiving a third-person effect among their peers, but the magnitude of effect was even greater among non-peers.

Duck, Hogg and Terry (1999) conceptualized social distance in terms of self-perceived in-group and out-group membership. Low-group identifiers, those who saw themselves more as individuals than members of a group, were more apt than high-group identifiers to manifest third-person perceptions of AIDS prevention messages.

Higher self esteem was associated with third-person perceptions in a study of college women and body image (**David & Johnson**, 1998). These researchers drew upon two attribution-theory explanations, both based on self-serving biases associated with downward comparisons. Self-esteem also was a factor in the **Chapin** (2000) study.

A self-serving bias also seems to have been at work in the Hoffner et al. (2001) research dealing with the effects of television violence; in an aggression measure there were greater third-person effects demonstrated among individuals who compared themselves more favorably than others.

Several studies have focused on the issues of either perceived or actual knowledge. Perceived knowledge may reflect a desire to create social distance based on self-enhancing comparative judgments. Lasorsa (1989) found third-person perceptions among those with greater perceived but not actual knowledge. This is consistent with research (**Price, Huang & Tewksbury**, 1997; Price & Tewksbury, 1996) concluding that actual knowledge was not related to third-person effects. Self-perceived knowledge was related to third-person findings with a neutral message (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997). Inconsistent with the foregoing, McLeod, Eveland and Nathanson (1997) concluded that perceived knowledge of rap music was not related to third-person effects. Atwood (1994) found both actual and perceived knowledge related to third-person effects, but the latter measure was significant in only one of three conditions.

Social distance was not a significant factor when it was operationalized in terms of attitudes towards abortion (Andsager & White, 2001).

According to **Henriksen and Flora** (1999), children perceived greater communication influence on other children in regards to smoking advertisements. Non-smoking children whose best friends smoked perceived even greater influence of the ads not only on their best friends but on others, as well. The authors concluded that this was a situational factor intervening to yield less support for the notion of social distance because children who did not smoke were more like themselves. However, this explanation assumes that the smoking/non-smoking question is a criterion used by children in selecting "best friends."

Research by Eveland et al. (1999) produced findings where social distance was outweighed by another factor. College students perceived third-person effects for rap and death metal music among individuals who were close to their own age but not among people who were 40 years older, even though this older group was more socially distant. The authors speculated the students "held a naive theory of media effects" (p. 290) in which they estimated the older group was unlikely to be exposed to the music in question.

Wu and Koo (2001) reported a similar finding in a Singapore study focusing on the Internet and a desire for censorship. While third-person perceptions were associated with a desire to censor pornography to adults, the third-person perception applied to children was not associated with a desire to censor. This was apparently due to a belief that children would not have access to it.

Although it was not couched in these terms by the authors, a naive theory of media effects also may have been a factor in finding third-person perceptions related to attitudes toward censorship of web sites promoting controversial products (**Youn, Wan & Faber**, 2001). There were significant relationships between third-person perceptions and a desire to censor handgun, gambling and beer web sites when adults perceived other adults but a non-significant relationship on the same measure when adults perceived teens. The authors speculated that the difference may be due to the fact that the adults believed teens would have fewer opportunities to actually purchase those products. When the question centered on pornographic web sites, the measure linking third-person perceptions and desire to censor was much stronger between adults and teens than it was between adults and adults.

The findings relating to a naive theory of media effects is consistent with correspondent inference theory (Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones & McGillis, 1976), which states that individuals make attributions with the idea that the behavior of people in certain groups is predictable.

McLeod, Eveland and Nathanson (1997) did not find unanimous support for the idea of social distance but noted that the exception may have been attributable to a faulty assumption as to the way a group under scrutiny would perceive themselves in relationship to another group. Eveland, et al., (1999) concluded social distance was not a factor but that third-person perceptions were due to perceptions of exposure to the group in question.

Despite this latter finding, the weight of the evidence still leans in favor of the social distance corollary, especially as it is applied to self-other comparisons. However, the Eveland, et al. (1999) observation points to the need for further exploration in findings relating to social distance.

Advertising Ramifications of Social Distance

Research in the area of social distance reveals the following areas of concern that could be addressed via efforts focusing on advertising: various conceptualizations of social distance, different types of products, perceived vs. actual knowledge, and the "naive theory of media effects." In some instances, suggestions for future research include the foregoing issues working in tandem.

The "naive theory of media effects" is tied to attribution work and is of particular interest because one's naive theory sometimes over-rides third-person perceptions based on social distance. This was displayed in the Eveland et al. (1999) research when younger audiences did not believe older audiences would be affected by rap music because they knew that these individuals were unlikely to listen to that type of music.

Untested in regard to the naive theories of media effects are any ideas about target audiences of advertising. To what extent can various groups of individuals recognize whether advertising messages for particular products are aimed at specific groups? What kinds of interactions would occur when a younger audience perceived the effects of a condom ad on senior citizens? When senior citizens perceived the effects of a Depend Undergarment ad on teenagers? When teen girls perceived the effects of feminine hygiene products on teen boys?

The foregoing are extremes, but where are the shades of gray? Or, stated another way, where does the naive theory of media effects stop and the third-person perception start? For example, in the case of young people and their perceptions of Depend Undergarment, how would the teens perceive the effects of an advertisement for this type of product among people in their 70s? 60? 50s? 40s? 30s? 20s? Would there be linear findings?

The **Henriksen and Flora** (1999) research indicated that the third-person perception was tied to particular social comparative contexts. In the research above, levels of education, geographic locations, self-esteem, and in-group/out- group membership were used as significant variables of social distance in third-person perceptions. There are several ways this could be pursued in advertising. How would a measure such as self-esteem interact with third-person perceptions of ads for various types of products? How would a measure such as self-esteem interact with actual knowledge of a product vs. perceived knowledge of certain products in producing third-person perceptions? What other measures of social distance would produce third-person effects with advertising? How do the variables of friendship selections and group membership merge with the foregoing questions?

Henriksen and Flora found different degrees of third-person perception of smoking messages among children whose best friends smoked compared to children whose best friends did not smoke. Future research could focus on the social comparison context in terms of usage of various products both on the part of the perceiver and the actor. For example, what would be the difference in third-person perceptions of a beer advertisement between a heavy user of beer and a non-user of beer? Between a non-user of beer whose best friend or close relative or fellow group member was an alcoholic and a non-user of beer without such a best friend or close relative or fellow group member? How would the owner of a very prestigious product perceive the effects of an ad for that product in comparison to a person who did not own that product?

David and Johnson (1998) concluded that their research reinforced "the importance of psychological constructs such as general self-esteem, social physique anxiety, and physique monitoring. . ." (p. 54).

Other factors that might be of use to third-person researchers include personality factors (Brosius & Engel, 1996) and the research on high and low self-monitors (i.e. Snyder, 1974; Snyder & DeBono, 1985).

Issue Salience

The issue of involvement has received considerable scrutiny from attribution researchers (i.e. Eagly, 1967; Freedman, 1964; Rhine & Severance, 1970). Third-person perceptions are more apt to be present among those who viewed an issue as being important (Mutz, 1989) and highly involving (Perloff, 1989).

Issue salience, then, would seem to account for the third-person findings among both Arabs and Jews in the earlier described Perloff (1989) study. (For similar findings, also see Vallone, Ross and Lepper, 1985; Price, Tewksbury and Huang, 1998.)

Issue salience was tied to political beliefs in two research efforts. **Cohen and Davis** (1991) discovered third-person effects among partisans for both sides in an examination of negative political advertising in the 1988 U.S. presidential election. But rather than the perception relating to neutral others, as in Perloff's (1989) study of Jews and Arabs, the third-persons identified by Cohen and Davis were other like-minded supporters. **Price, Huang and Tewksbury** (1997) concluded that political orientations accounted for third-person perceptions when taken together with media usage and media orientations.

Strength of personal beliefs about the importance of safe-sex messages was at work in producing varying perceived self-other differences (**Duck, Terry & Hogg,** 1995).

In focusing on the O. J. Simpson trial, Driscoll and Salwen (1997) found that African-Americans were more apt than whites to display third-person effects and more apt to believe in Simpson's innocence. If African-Americans identified with Simpson on the basis of race, the finding may be attributable to issue salience.

If it may be assumed that teenage girls are interested in the opinions of teenage boys, issue salience accounted for third-person perceptions in the **Milkie** (1999) study on idealized images of beauty. The research revealed that even if adolescent girls are not negatively affected by their own perceptions of depictions of beauty in advertising (which would reflect strong media effects), they are nevertheless negatively impacted due to a third-person perception. This was because they believed that others, particularly teen boys, would judge them by those media images. Conversely, issue salience probably worked in the opposite way among minority girls who looked at the same images but did not have third-person perceptions; the author speculated that these subjects did not identify with the primarily white media images.

In an examination of a television mini-series with political implications (Perloff, et al., 1992), peace activists may have reflected issue salience when demonstrating greater third-person perceptions on one measure.

Issue salience was probably a factor in studies dealing with censorship. There was greater third-person perceptual bias among those who favored restrictions on pornography (Gunther, 1995; Wu & Koo, 2001), rap music (McLeod, Eveland & Nathanson, 1997), and political messages (Salwen, 1998). Overall, there have been greater third-person perceptions when the messages were perceived as anti-social in compared to pro-social (Eveland & McLeod, 1999). This conclusion may reflect issue salience in that some anti-social messages become "hot-button" issues for individuals on the basis of pre-existing attitudes. Gunther (1995) suggested examining the role of attitudes in third-person research.

Attitudinal measures used in third-person studies and generally reflecting issue salience have included attitudes toward abortion (Andsager & White, 2001); attitudes toward the Web (Youn, Wan & Faber, 2001); generalized negative attitudes towards media effects (Brosius & Engel, 1996); attitudes towards media (**Chapin**, 2000); attitudes towards free expression (Duck, Hogg & Terry, 1999); acceptance of aggression (Hoffner et al., 2001); conservatism (McLeod et al., 1997, 2001; Rojas et al., 1996); religiosity (Hoffner et al., 1999; Rojas et al., 1996; Shah et al., 1999; Youn, et al., 2001); authoritarianism (Rojas et al., 1996; Shah et al., 1999); feminism (Rojas, et al., 1996), and innovativeness (Youn, et al., 2001).

Advertising Ramifications of Issue Salience

There are many advertising implications apparent in the **Milkie** (1999) study of the third-person perceptions of teenage girls to idealized images of beauty in the media. Namely, how could any group of consumers who hold some issue to be important be impacted (either negatively or positively) by advertising not on the basis of its effect on them but on the basis of the way they perceive those messages will affect others? For example, skin care would undoubtedly be a salient issue for a teen with acne. What are the third-person perceptions of this teen when looking at advertisements for skin-care products? What would be the difference in this teen's third-person perceptions of his/her parents, best friends, other teens with acne, other teens without acne, of "in-group" and "out-group" members at school? What would be the third-person perceptions of a teen with a clear complexion when looking at the same ads? How would self-perception variables fit into these equations? The foregoing questions could be pursued with ads for any product aimed at addressing specific problems such as anti-depressant medicines, household cleaning products, weight-loss products, or nicotine cessation programs.

Research possibilities are available in regards to strongly held attitudes relating to advertising for important or highly involving products. It may be hypothesized, for example, that higher degrees of brand loyalty would be associated with greater third-person effects. Would there be differences in such perceptions when brand loyalty is measured for an expensive versus an inexpensive product? For products that are socially visible compared to those that are not? For anti-social versus pro-social products? For products associated with social censure, such as racist literature?

More generalized attitudes also could be explored in various kinds of advertising scenarios. Thus far, measures of religiosity, conservatism, and authoritarianism have been used when third-person perceptions are tied to a desire for censorship. There are a wide variety of attitudes that could be tested with various kinds of ads for various types of products.

Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957, 1964) and the related concept of selective exposure hold many possibilities for third-person research. In the **Cohen and Davis** (1991) research, supporters for Bush and Dukakis each displayed third-person effects from viewing negative ads for the candidate they supported. The third-person perception could be explored under a variety of advertising circumstances that produce cognitive dissonance, such as an advertisement that is discrepant with an individual's belief systems. What third-person effects would be present among minorities to an advertisement for a candidate endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan? To an advertisement for the appearance of a high-profile conservative evangelist to an atheist, or vice-versa?

Cognitive dissonance also is present in post-purchase/post-decisional situations (i.e. Brehm, 1956). How would ads for a specific automobile affect third-person perceptions of an individual who has just purchased a competing brand?

Source and Message Characteristics

The research connecting persuasiveness and credibility factors such as source expertise, trustworthiness/intent to persuade are reviewed by Petty and Cacioppo (1996). Source credibility issues have been linked to attribution research by Kelley's (1967, 1972, 1973) conclusions about observers.

Lasorsa (1992) explained that the third-person phenomenon is more apt to occur under low-credibility conditions because people reason, "I know how biased this message is but others may not recognize its propagandistic nature and, therefore, will 'fall for' what I 'see through' " (p. 171-172).

Advertising has been scrutinized because it is perceived as a biased (and thus, less credible) source of information. Respondents were more apt to display third-person effects with advertising in comparison to editorial matter (**Brosius & Engel**, 1996; **Gunther & Mundy**, 1993). Similarly, **Gunther and Thorson** (1992) found that advertising yielded greater perceptions of effects on both self and others in comparison to public service announcements, which are perceived as having greater credibility. There was no difference found between advertisements and public service announcements containing safer-sex (and thus, pro-social) messages in a **Chapin** (1999) study of teenagers. When making comparisons to news and debates, **Rucinski and Salmon** (1990) found greater third-person effects with political advertisements, negative political advertisements and polls.

The third-person perception was correlated to self-perceived knowledge of legal issues with a neutral but not a biased message in the Driscoll and Salwen (1997) research on the O. J. Simpson trial. Perceived source bias also was at work in the Cohen, et al. (1988) research on jury reaction; here, greater third-person effects were associated with a biased source presenting a negative message. Both pro-Israelis and pro-Arabs perceived source bias and exhibited third-person perceptions in news coverage of the same event (Perloff, 1989).

Source credibility was tied to a notion of possessing correct information in a study by Atwood (1994). This researcher measured third-person perceptions among individuals who did not believe an earthquake prediction from an "expert" used by the media who was without known credentials in the field. The respondents with third-person perceptions believed the accurate information that credible earthquake predictions are not so precise as to specify a nearly exact time of occurrence.

Findings in the area of message characteristics generally parallel those of source characteristics and probably for the same reason; consistent with the aforementioned speculations of Lasorsa (1992), people see others as more vulnerable.

Messages believed to be persuasively weak were more apt than strong messages to produce a third-person effect (**White**, 1997). Defamatory messages were associated with third-person perceptions by Cohen et al. (1988).

Third-person effects were associated with "neutral" but not emotional ads (**Gunther & Thorson**, 1992), but there was no difference in an emotional ad compared to an informative ad (**Duck, Hogg & Terry**, 1999).

As stated in the section on issue salience, there have been greater third-person perceptions when the messages were perceived as anti-social in comparison to pro-social (Eveland & McLeod, 1999). **Gunther and Mundy** (1993) couched the anti-social versus pro-social issue in terms of messages for products perceived to have a harmful intent (i.e. ways to win the lottery) compared to those perceived as having a positive intent (i.e. advice on wearing seat belts). Third-person perceptions were found in a study of advertising for controversial products (gambling services, cigarettes, and alcohol) (**Shah, Faber & Youn,** 1999) and cigarette advertising among children (**Henriksen & Flora**, 1999). Similarly, music containing anti-social messages produced stronger third-person perceptions than music with pro-social messages

(Eveland & McLeod, 1999). However, perceived immoral effects of media messages as conceptualized by Salwen and Dupagne (1999) did not result in greater third-person perceptions.

Advertising Implications of Source and Message Characteristics

As evidenced by the frequency of author names bold-faced in this section, advertising has drawn the most attention from third-person researchers on the basis of its credibility. Although there has been considerable work done in this area (i.e. advertising compared to PSAs and editorial matter), third-person research on advertising's credibility continues to have possibilities. For example, no third-person effort has addressed the credibility of advertising on the Web, in motion pictures (either before the feature film starts or product placement within the film), outdoor advertising or numerous other media.

Emotional messages were covered in two of the above-cited researches. This brings to mind advertising appeals, such as fear appeals and one-sided versus two-sided arguments. And what types of advertising appeals would interact on a third-person level with a measure such as self-esteem?

Duck, Hogg and Terry (1999) suggested using vividness of ads as a variable. It is unclear how that could be operationalized, but there are possibilities for advertising message factors that have been tested in the past, such as the use of color versus black and white, various colors, size of ad, and low versus high frequency conditions.

This review has covered the issue of anti-social vs. pro-social messages from both the perspective of issue salience and as a source or a message characteristic. For implications for future advertising research regarding this issue, see the section above on issue salience.

Media

Consistent with attribution theory, characteristics of the medium are less important than personal characteristics of perceivers (**Rucinski & Salmon**, 1990). Perhaps it is for that reason that an examination of the findings below reveals no clear-cut differences by medium.

In a study examining differences between media, Innes and Zeitz (1988) found third-person perception bias among television viewers but not among the audiences of radio, newspapers or magazines.

Peiser and Peter (2001) discovered third-person perceptions when using a variety of items dealing with television viewing time and viewing motivations such as companionship, escape, and entertainment. Viewing for purposiveness and information were not associated with third-person perceptions.

Amount of time spent watching television was the only media measurement out of four that was significant for third-person effect (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997); no relationship was found among the variables of days spent either reading a newspaper, watching network news or watching local news. Neither did

Salwen (1998) find a relationship between media usage and desire to support restrictions on political messages. Time spent with media was not a significant factor in the **Chapin** (2000) study.

Unrelated to third-person effect in the overall findings of **Rucinski and Salmon** (1990) were exposure and attention to television public affairs programming and to newspaper public affairs content. But in this same study, among individuals with equivalent political interest, the third-person perception was associated with higher levels of exposure to newspaper public affairs.

Some research efforts have used attitudes toward the media. These include the Web (Youn, Wan & Faber, 2001); generalized media effects (Brosius & Engel, 1996), and the media in general (**Chapin**, 2000).

In the Atwood (1994) study on earthquake predictions, with news from three media--radio, television, and newspapers--the third-person phenomenon was found among those who neither believed the prediction nor that quakes could be predicted that precisely. When the earthquake prediction was disconfirmed, there were declines in the credibility of newspapers and television among those who initially believed the prediction and increases among those who did not believe; these changes in credibility were not substantiated for radio as a news source.

In the two studies focusing on the same network television miniseries, Lasorsa (1989) discovered the third-person effect greater among those with greater perceived knowledge and Perloff, et al. (1992) found the effect was greater among peace activists in one measurement.

"Media schemas"--items dealing with media usage without specifying a medium, perceptions of media power, media image, and perceived vulnerability to manipulation--were used by Price and colleagues (1997). These measures did not account for third-person findings but helped to account for a part of the effect when combined with political knowledge and orientations.

Following in long-time media research tradition, the above efforts have used media variables of perceivers, but recent third-person research focuses on the perceptions of the media usage of others. For example, perceptions of likelihood of exposure to specific media content apparently were more important than social distance in explaining third-person effects among one group but not another (Eveland, et al., 1999). McLeod et al. (2001) built on this idea when speculating that perceptions of media effects of others is based on the naive theory of the "magic-bullet model."

Advertising Implications of Media

Media usage from an advertising perspective has been covered in previous sections. Not previously discussed is the idea of studying the third-person phenomenon in terms of the perceptions of the media usage of others. For example, what are the third-person perceptions of the effect of advertising when it is believed that the other person is an "advertising junky?" How would they differ if the third person was someone who is known to hate advertising? Questions such as these could be explored in terms of variables of the perceiver. For example, how does someone who self-reports as being highly exposed to advertising perceive the effects of advertising on others who are highly exposed? Or who are not at all exposed? Would the highly exposed individual believe he/she possesses special advertising knowledge and therefore exhibit third-person perceptions in comparison to someone who is not highly exposed? And what kind of perceptions would there be if the situation was reversed?

Demographics

Several demographic differences have been demonstrated in third-person effect studies. There are findings to indicate that such differences are usually not inherent to demographics, per se, but to a combination of a particular demographic and an issue that is salient to that group, consistent with the speculation of Davison (1983) and subsequent findings (Mutz ,1989; Perloff, 1989; Tiedge, et al., 1991; Vallone, et al., 1985). For example, Arabs and Jews produced opposite-direction third-person effects in their perceptions of news concerning the Middle East (Perloff, 1989); but it may be speculated with a high degree of certainty that these findings would not be replicated in news about trends in higher education in the U.S. or any number of other issues.

Other studies where a demographic was apparently tied to issue salience included members of a target audience showing greater effects than non-targets (McLeod, et al., 1997) and African-Americans demonstrating greater effects than whites in regards to the O. J. Simpson trial (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997). The issues of ethnicity and target audience considerations were both at work in the **Milkie** (1999) study where the African-American girls did not display third-person effects because they did not identify with primarily white media images of idealized beauty.

Examining the question as to which best fits the conceptualization of third-person effect, **Rucinski and Salmon** (1990) concluded that target-specific effect had greater explanatory power compared to perceived persuasiveness of message components.

If greater levels of education are synonymous with perceptions of social distance, the earlier-reviewed material on social distance merges here with demographics. Four studies (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997; Eveland et al., 1999; **Rucinski & Salmon**, 1990; Tiedge et al., 1991) have linked third-person perceptions with higher levels of education. Looking at the variable from a different perspective, Salwen (1998) found that education was negatively related to a desire to restrict political messages, while lower levels of education were associated with greater third-person effects in the **Brosius and Engel** (1996) research.

Would the demographic of age result in greater third-person effects as a result of perceived social distance? Glynn and Ostman (1988) found a negative relationship between age and perceiving greater media effects among others. Younger people were more apt than older individuals to have third-person effects (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997), but the variance was very low. Neither **Rucinski and Salmon** (1990) nor Tiedge et al. (1991) discovered a relationship between age and third-person effect. Age apparently confounded the social distance corollary in the Eveland et al. (1999) study, while individuals over age 40 had greater third-person perceptions, according to **Brosius and Engel** (1996).

Findings in the area of gender differences may be attributable to issue salience. In the study of the O. J. Simpson trial (Driscoll & Salwen, 1997), women were more apt than men to have third-person perceptions, but this accounted for only a small part of the variance. When third-person perception was associated with a desire to censor, women scored higher on measurements dealing with web sites for pornography, handguns, and beer but scored no different than men in regards to gambling (**Youn, Wan & Faber**, 2001). In measures of perceived television violence, women believed both themselves and others were being affected, but men demonstrated a third-person effect in that they believed only others were affected (Hoffner et al., 2001), a finding explained in terms of women having different emotional responses to media violence. There were no gender differences measured by either **Rucinski and Salmon** (1990) or Tiedge et al. (1991).

Children also exhibited third-person effects, and the authors (**Henriksen & Flora**, 1999) concluded that the self-serving bias previously found among adults also was demonstrated by children. Among the children the perception of self-other differences increased linearly between fourth, sixth, and eighth-graders.

Wu and Koo (2001) found third-person perceptions associated with a desire for censorship of pornography in Singapore, a nation described by the authors as conservative in its view of sexually explicit materials.

Advertising Implications of Demographics

A few third-person researches (i.e. Driscoll & Salwen, 1997; **Milkie**, 1999) have focused on minority audiences, but there is still much to be learned about the third-person effects of advertising among various minority samples.

Future research could follow the lead of the **Milkie** (1999) study where third-person perceptions to the same media images were found among whites but not African-Americans. Would the **Milkie** findings have been different if half the ads contained primarily African-American models? If all the ads had contained African-American models? Or what if the perceivers were both white and African-American and the ads contained exclusively Asian models?

No third-person research has utilized a sample of Hispanics. Of course, Hispanics could be used in scenarios described in the previous paragraph. But another possible variable with this ethnic group is that of language. For example, what are the third-person perceptions of individuals in the U.S. who speak the Spanish language exclusively with an advertisement in Spanish when perceiving English-speaking Hispanics? When perceiving Anglos or African-Americans? Does the issue of social distance intervene between Spanish-speaking Hispanics and English-speaking Hispanics? What would the Spanish-speakers or English-speakers who are Hispanic perceive the effects of an advertisement obviously directed toward Hispanics that is in the English language? What if it was a television ad with Anglo models? Obviously, there are many possible directions for this type of research.

What about the third-person perceptions of handicapped individuals to various kinds of advertising? What about other populations, such as prisoners?

Any group that could be identified according to self-identity or self-concept would lend itself toward exhibiting third-person findings. Since the way individuals view themselves reflects the way they perceive others, self perception has long been a concern of attribution theorists (Bem, 1965; Jones & Davis, 1965: Kelley, 1967).

First, Second, Reverse-Third, and No-Person Effects

In the original article on third-person effects, Davison (1983) questioned whether the perceived difference in the impact of a communication message between self and others was due to overestimating the effects on others or underestimating the effects on self. This question and related questions have been explored as researchers discovered cases where individuals perceived they were being more greatly affected by the media than others. The phenomenon of perceiving greater effects on self has been called the reverse third-person effect (**Cohen & Davis**, 1991; **Duck, Hogg & Terry,** 1999; **Gunther & Thorson**, 1992; Lasorsa, 1992) and first-person effect (Atwood, 1994; Driscoll & Salwen, 1997; **Rucinski & Salmon**, 1990; Salwen, 1998; Tiedge et al., 1991).

Additionally, Neuwirth and Frederick (1999) used the term "second-person effect" to describe situations where there is no difference between first- and third-person perceptions.

Salwen (1998) reported both first- and third-person perceptual bias but also found no perceptual bias on the part of 6.9% of the sample. Do we refer to this as the no-person effect? Under what circumstances are individuals without perceptual bias?

Between the existing findings concerning first-person effect and questions revolving around ideas about a "second-person effect" and "no-person effect," separate reviews are warranted to adequately probe these issues as they relate to advertising.

Conclusions

The past 15 years has yielded a considerable body of third-person literature with only a small ratio including advertising. It would seem to indicate that the future holds great promise for third-person research related to advertising.

Was Perloff (1989) understating the case when noting that third-person research provided a "dramatically different approach" in the way researchers think about media effects? Considerable research has focused on the impact of the media on individuals. In fact, it could be said that this has represented the dominant paradigm in media studies. But if we really believe in weak media effects, have these efforts been misplaced? Is the true impact of the mass media on a third-person level where rather than measuring actual effects on the self, it is more accurate to measure the perceived impact on others?

If we truly believed that media's only affect was in the way receivers of messages perceive others, there would be no reason to advertise. It would undoubtedly be inaccurate to say that all effects are of the third-person variety and that all research efforts measuring more direct effects have been misplaced. What could be accurately stated is that studies of third-person effects have opened a new avenue for researchers and the results are adding to our understanding of the tapestry of what occurs in the minds of individuals when they are exposed to a media message. In some cases, they believe that others are more affected than themselves. In others, they believe that they are more affected. In either instance, though, we are dealing with the perceptions of individuals. As we have seen, these perceptions are subject to self-serving tendencies. And they are, after all, perceptions, and they do not necessarily represent reality.

An examination of the variables used in most of the existing studies reveals that they are extensions of the dominant paradigm--i.e. demographics, media usage variables, source and message variables--and indeed, they have yielded some helpful findings, particularly in the areas of personal and ego-enhancing characteristics.

In making conclusions about third-person findings, Mutz (1989) observed, "communication need not directly affect opinions in order to exert influence on the public opinion process" (pp. 19-20). Using this as a cue, there have been research efforts that clearly break the mold in their perspective of the third-person phenomenon. One of these was the Milkie (1999) research on the idealized images of beauty. It was in this study that the white teen girls were not necessarily directly affected by the images but they were affected by their third-person notions that teen boys would judge them by those images. In the same study the African-American girls did not have third-person perceptions when viewing the same images, and thus, a variable was introduced that overrode third-person effects. Related to this was Eveland et al. (1999) which identified an instance where a "naive theory" of the way media affects others interceded to override the third-person effect. In subsequent research (McLeod et al., 2001), this naive theory was given an identity, the "magic-bullet" theory, and it was shown how this results from the fundamental attribution error. These studies could serve to guide advertising researchers seeking tacks to take in relationship to the third-person effect.

Research is needed that would lead toward identification of a "hierarchy of effects" demonstrating the attributional tendencies that are stronger than third-person perceptions.

The fundamental attribution error has been demonstrated to be a key component in perceptions of media influence. When constructing advertising related studies, the inclusion of variables to allow measurements of the fundamental attribution error would seem to be a near necessity.

Further directions in third-person research may be found in an examination of the attribution literature. For example, research using correspondent inference theory (Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones & McGillis, 1976) could be useful in determining workings of the naive theory of media effects as it applies to the target audiences of advertising.

How could understandings of the relationship of the third-person effect to the first-person effect aid our understanding of the workings of advertising? The earlier mentioned false consensus effect was cited in a third-person study (Innes & Zeitz, 1988) but may be particularly helpful in explaining the first-person phenomenon. Examining false consensus bias, Gilovich, Jennings and Jennings (1983) demonstrated that attributions related to self may be based on incomplete information. This suggests there may be differences on the basis of low versus high exposures of advertising for a particular product.

In what way do first- or third-person perceptions affect word-of-mouth information about a product? What are the ramifications of this research to advertising to the influencers of purchase? What are the third-person perceptions of a buyer for a retail store while watching a consumer ad for a product that could be carried by that retail store? These issues have never been mentioned in a third-person scenario.

Reflecting on the research spawned from his theory, Davison (1996) expressed embarrassment at not comprehending ramifications of the third-person effect when it was originally conceived. The same sentiment might be expressed a decade from now when advertising theorists reflect on the current state of understanding in regards to the third-person effect.

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Adv

Running head: BRANDING CONTENT ON AGENCY WEB SITES

Advertising Agency Web Sites:
Presence of Branding Content & Capabilities

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Abstract

Many large advertising agencies offer specialized services in brand development, creation, and stewardship to clients. This research looks at how agencies are presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites, the extent to which this is being done, and whether there are significant differences in presentations of branding capabilities between the larger and smaller agencies. The research shows that the presence of branding capabilities on web sites is high, particularly among the larger advertising agencies.

Advertising Agency Web Sites:

Presence of Branding Content & Capabilities

In 1988, when Philip Morris purchased Kraft and Nestle purchased Rowntree, the advertising and marketing community was suddenly alerted to the tremendous value companies place on consumer brands. Paying over four times the amount of tangible assets, Philip Morris and Nestle made an important statement about the value of the brand names contained in Kraft and Rowntree's portfolio of products. These two company purchases drove the *Economist* magazine to name 1988, "The Year of the Brand" (Arnold, 1992).

In response to companies' recognition that their brands represent valuable assets, many of the large marketing and advertising agencies began developing skill and knowledge bases around the concept of branding (Keller, 98). In fact, several of the larger agencies established divisions or separate entities that dealt solely with branding issues and the services that support those brands. These "branding" services typically involve brand definition, brand creation/development, brand stewardship, research, and counseling on brand maintenance. For example, J. Walter Thompson has its "Thompson Total Branding" philosophy. Leo Burnett touts its "Brand Team" approach in which a dedicated, full team focuses its energies on "building leadership brands." Y&R has its "Brand Buzz" group. This movement is not restricted to agencies. Research firms are adjusting their service offerings to reflect the interest in brands. Even the traditional management-consulting firms, such as Boston Consulting Group, now provide counsel on building successful brands (Barkan & Semans, 2000; Schultz & Barnes, 1999).

In short, the branding concept has become a relatively new and robust area of specialization in the industry mirroring other movements in years past such as media planning, direct marketing, and alternative media (Keller, 1998). But just how extensive is this phenomenon? Is it limited to the large full service agencies or is branding an industry wide movement reflecting a major shift in how agencies and clients approach their communications? And how are agencies presenting the branding concept? Are agencies merchandising specialized branding tools or other services? The purpose of this study is to answer these questions.

Literature Review

Reflecting the emergence of branding as a specialized field in marketing and advertising, business leaders and scholars have contributed to a growing body of work around the brand-building concept. Yet almost all of the existing research centers around the fundamental concepts involved in branding, such as brand definition and evaluation, plus the tools used in building brands. There has been a lack of research that attempts to understand just how extensive branding practices are among agencies. However, we can begin to understand the importance and value of branding by tracing the broad outline of this work from its early stages of the branding concept definition to current published work that features more refined techniques such as how to heighten consumers' "brand experience" on the Internet.

One of the earliest and most important publications on brand-related issues was from Ries and Trout (1981). The book, "Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind," deals with the fundamental issue of creating a basic position for a brand and communicating that position in advertising in a single-minded way. Additionally, this book recognizes the power of a strong, clearly positioned brand in creating extensions and flanker products, which feed off the strength of the base brand.

Perhaps the key publication signaling the growing importance of brands is David Aaker's *Managing Brand Equity* (1991). In this work, Aaker (1991) helps to define brand equity beyond the broadly accepted definitions of "brand heritage" or "general collection of brand images" in consumers' minds. Aaker breaks down the brand to five, key components: brand loyalty, brand awareness, perceived quality, brand associations, and proprietary brand assets.

Feeding off Aaker's thinking, books and articles about "managing" brands for long-term health emerged. *Strategic Brand Management*'s (Kapferer, 1992) focus is on successfully managing a brand over time by avoiding common obvious mistakes, maintaining a contemporary image, introducing extensions, and optimizing the brand portfolio.

Additionally, much of the early thinking on branding was centered on "brand personality" whether communicated by television ads or other forms of communication (Durgee, 1988; Aaker, Stayman, & Hagerty, 1986). The personality represents the "voice" or "attitude" of the brand and is a major differentiation point versus competitors. Plus, brand personality is recognized as a key component of brand goodwill with consumers (Batra, Lehmann, & Singh, 1993) and a crucial element in developing a "relationship" with consumers (Blackston, 1993). Refining the idea further, Aaker (1997) identifies five distinctive, personality dimensions of brands and within those dimensions, a set of numerous personality traits with which consumers identify brands through advertising.

The discourse on branding eventually evolved to how to measure the success of brands, particularly brand equity. Keller (1993) refines the definition of brand equity as "consumer-based" brand equity or consumer knowledge about the brand over and above that of a generic product in the category. Thus, it is a definition of brand equity based on the outcomes or effects of the marketing efforts of a particular brand. Keller outlines this definition in *Strategic Brand Management* (1998), which incorporates techniques for building, measuring, and managing brand equity.

Recently, the literature has focused on the broader issue of building strong brands. In *Building Strong Brands*, Aaker (1996) presents a complete process for creating a strong brand. The process begins with a strategic brand analysis, developing the brand identity, implementing the identity via positioning and advertising execution, and finally tracking the brand health through research. Aaker recommends the "Brand Equity Ten," ten measures designed for measuring the success of advertising in creating a strong brand. Keller (2000) offers an alternative outline for the creation of strong brands. This is a set of ten characteristics that strong global brands have in common such as delivering solidly against consumer wants, staying relevant, maintaining a proper position, and receiving proper support consistently over a long period of time.

Finally, a broad range of new work is emerging regarding branding in the age of the Internet, reinforcing the need for brand building skills in the high-speed economy. "Deep Branding on the Internet" outlines ways in which the Internet can help build brands through a consumer's meaningful and productive experience on a brand's web site (Braunstein & Levine, 2000). "The 11 Immutable Laws of Internet Branding" reviews the necessary elements in building Internet brands (Ries & Ries, 2000). And "Warp

Speed Branding" reveals how technology and speed of business places even more importance on using the Internet to build brand relationships with consumers (Winkler, 1999).

While there has been a great deal of work written on the principles and practices of branding products and services, some of which has been reviewed in this paper, there is also work on corporate branding or corporate identity (Balmer, 1995, 1998; Mason, 1993). This work centers on defining a firm or company and then how that identity is communicated to the public (Capowski, 1993; Balmer & Wilson, 1998). In short, corporations are also brands (Leitch, 1999; Gregory & Wiechmann, 1999; Carls, 1989), replete with a set of qualities and values similar to products or services. Advertising agencies, who spend a great deal of time and effort in convincing their corporate clients how to manage and present their portfolio of brands or their corporate brand to consumers (Aaker, 1996), also have to be concerned with how they present themselves to their target audience, both current and potential clients. Like corporations, advertising agencies must know how to construct their agency brand or brand identity; the way a firm or company presents itself in terms of its essence, substance, knowledge and skill base, and culture (Olin 1996).

Further, a web site is an important element of communicating an organization's brands and services to its various target audiences. Much research has been done confirming that firms can reinforce their image, identity, or corporate brand through repeated exposures to audiences thereby producing a positive image (Gray & Balmer, 1998; Gregory & Wiechmann, 1999). It follows that a web site offers an ideal opportunity to companies for additional exposures.

The research progression reviewed above indicates that there are several gaps in the existing research. First, researchers have not looked at the extent to which agencies offer branding services to clients and what type of services are being offered. And second, while there is a body of research on how large corporations communicate their identity or corporate brand through their web sites, no work has been done on how advertising agencies present their agency brand or services via their agency web sites. This study will attempt to fill both those research gaps.

The theory on which this study is based is "framing." Robert Entman (1993) defines framing as involving the selection and salience of a message that is intended for communication. Effective communication involves selecting or highlighting a frame, or a word or number of words, that communicates the essential message (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). By simple selection or highlighting of an item, this elevates the item's salience. Communicating with a salient message enhances the chances for successful communication with a target audience (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). But just as important as choosing what to highlight, is choosing what to omit. Inclusion and omission of elements in a message are both important in communicating a message (Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991).

Essentially, this paper is a study of how agencies are selecting or highlighting a message on their web sites to promote themselves to clients. In other words, the paper looks at how agencies are "framing" their service portfolios to clients. Are agencies choosing to frame or emphasize their service offerings as providing branding services?

Research Questions

Overall, this research will analyze advertising agency web sites in order to determine whether or not agencies are presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites and to what extent they are doing so. Understanding the extent and type of brand building services among agencies of different sizes will reveal just how broad and how deep this brand renaissance has spread throughout the industry and its potential long-term prospects.

The specific research questions are as follows:

RQ1: How are agencies presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites?

RQ2: To what extent are agencies presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites?

RQ3: Are there significant differences between the agencies in the top 100 and the Second 100 groupings in presenting their agency capabilities on their web sites?

Method

The sample was selected from a population of the top 200 agencies. The sample was specifically chosen from the *Advertising Age* listings of the top agencies in the United States (Endicott, 2000). For comparison purposes, the actual sample was broken down into two groupings, the "Top 100" agencies and the "Second 100" agencies. Ideally, all 200 agencies would have been used in the analysis, but some agencies did not have web sites or some agencies' site addresses were not available.

Given the direction of the study, the specific agencies chosen had to have a web site that was in working operation. This was done by using the American Association of Advertising Agencies' web site, which allows visitors to access its members' sites via the web addresses listed by the Four As. There is a site tool that allows a site visitor to input an agency name, and the site locates the address via its primary listing of the members. If the agency was not an AAAA member, then the specific agency name was entered into the "Google" search engine for location of a web address. Thus, the results were that among the Top 100 agency sites, there were 79 sites included in the sample, and for the Second 100 agency sites, there were 81 sites included in the sample.

The analyzing of the web sites was done on September 2001. The analyzing of the actual sites was limited to the first two pages of the web sites. Of course, a web site has many "second pages," so all of these second pages were included (Spool, Scanlon, Schroeder, Snyder, & DeAngelo, Li, 1998; Haas & Grams, 2000). Once the agency sites were located, the first and all the second pages were printed out so to freeze the sites in a moment in time. This assures that the analyzing of each site was executed on the sites as they appeared on the stated September dates (Falk, 2000). It should be noted that some agency web sites contain an introductory page that often features a visual special effect. This is not counted as a "first page." For this analysis, the first page is considered the page in which the site menu items appear (Middleberg, 1996; Nielsen, 2000).

The actual analysis involved locating all references to "brand," "branding," or "branded." This included not only any combination word including brand, such as "brand study" or "brand architecture" but any created words such as "brandworks" or brandynamics" as well (Arnold, 92).

Once these words were located and scored for location, the coding process began. (The author of this study served as the coder.) First, all web sites were coded for the presence of a branding reference on the first and/or second pages. This was done to see if the agency placed enough importance on the concept of branding to present it on the first two pages of the site. This initial reference was also coded for the type of branding reference. There were six types of branding references:

- **Agency Brand Slogan** – Branding reference incorporated into the agency slogan such as "ERP Agency: We do Brands"
- **Branding Mission** – Branding reference is part of the agency's statement of mission such as "ERP is dedicated to building brands"
- **Brand Definition Instrument** – Agency has instrument for defining a brand such as "brand framework," "brand architecture," or "brand wheel," etc.
- **Brand Research Tools** – Agency has research tools for monitoring, tracking, or otherwise researching brands
- **Branding Creative Services** – Agency has creative services to create visual elements of brand
- **Basic "Brand" reference** - Site includes a basic reference to brands or branding; this could reflect basic discourse on brands

Second, all sites pages were coded for the presence of the above six elements (not just initial brand reference). Third, the brand references were coded for proprietary claims made against various branding tools, techniques, or instruments. There were three types of proprietary claims coded: register mark, a claim using the word "proprietary," and a basic ownership claim made by the agency. Fourth, the site was coded for any "brand leadership" claims. In other words, does the agency, on its web site, claim the capability to create "leadership brands?" Fifth, the sites were coded for the total number of times the site included a branding reference.

Finally, the analysis looked at the extent of branding presence on the site. This does not mean the sheer number of times branding is referenced. The tool to measure extent of presence needs to be subtle enough to measure quality as well as quantity. Thus, the "Marshall Branding Scale" was developed. This scale scores web site branding presence by giving points for containing each of the six brand reference types listed above as well as points for number of brand references.

The inter-coder reliability score using Scott's Pi is .908.

Results

RQ1: How are agencies presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites?

In order to answer this question, this study first looked at whether or not the agencies were presenting the concept of branding or their branding capabilities on their web sites on the first two pages of the site. Of the total 160 agency web sites reviewed, 52.5% contain a branding reference on the first two pages of their sites. And among those with a branding presence on the first two pages, 33.1 % contain a branding reference on the first page of the web site.

To find out the ways in which the agencies present their branding capabilities on their web sites, the sites were coded for the presence of each type of branding reference. 12.5% of agency sites contain a branding reference in their Agency Slogan, and 32.5% have a Brand Mission statement. Additionally, 15.6% of the agencies have a Brand Definition Instrument, 2.5% have a Brand Research Tool, .6% has a Branding Creative Services reference, and 40% contain a Basic Brand reference.

Table 1 About Here

Looking further at the web sites and presentation of branding capabilities, a review of the *initial* brand reference on each site reveals that 21.1% of the sites' have an initial reference that is an Agency Brand Slogan, and 36.4% have an initial reference that is a Brand Mission Statement. Additionally, 5.9% of the initial brand references are Brand Definition Instruments, 2.4% are Brand Research Tools, and 34.1% are Basic Brand references.

Also, regarding how the agencies are presenting branding on the web sites, very few agencies present their branding skills as proprietary claims. Only 8.8% of all agencies use a register mark to distinguish a brand tool or skill, and only 1.3% makes a claim using the word "proprietary." Further, only three agencies actually claim the ability to create "leadership brands."

RQ2: To what extent are agencies presenting their branding capabilities on their web sites?

To answer the second research question regarding the extent to which agencies are presenting their branding capabilities on web sites, two methods were used: counting the number of branding references and using the Marshall Branding Scale. This will reveal the extent to which branding permeates the web site.

Among all the agencies, the mean number of branding references is 3.18 per agency web site. This means that on average, each agency web site, meaning the first and second pages, contains just over three branding references.

The Marshall Branding Scale, designed to measure the extent to which an agency web site contains a branding presence, both qualitatively and quantitatively, reveals a mean score for the all 160 agencies as 1.10.

> **RQ3:** Are there significant differences between the agencies in the Top 100 and the Second 100 groupings in presenting their agency capabilities on their web sites?

The third research question seeks to find significant differences between the branding content presented on the web sites of the agencies in the Top 100 versus the agencies in the Second 100.

Among the agencies in the Top 100, 63.3% contain a branding presence on the first two pages of the agency web site. This is in contrast to 42% of the Second 100 agencies containing a branding presence on their web sites. The difference is significant at the .007 level.

Table 2 About Here

Regarding how agencies present their capabilities on the web sites, the data show that there was no significant difference between the agencies in the Top 100 and the agencies in the Second 100 in presenting branding on their agency web sites. This holds true for five of the types of references: Agency Brand Slogan, Brand Mission Statement, Brand Definition Instrument, Brand Research Tools, and Branding Creative Services.

However, there is a significant difference regarding the number of Basic Brand references between the two groups. 49.4% of the agencies in the Top 100 include a Basic Brand reference in their web sites while only 30.9% of the agencies in the Second 100 include a basic reference. The difference is significant at the .017 level.

Regarding the initial brand reference on the web sites, there are no significant differences in how agencies present their initial branding reference on their web sites. Perhaps if the sample size is expanded to include more agencies, then perhaps significant differences will be revealed.

Regarding the extent to which agencies in the Top 100 and Second 100 are presenting their branding capabilities, there are no significant differences. The mean number of total agency references on the web sites of the Top 100 agencies is 3.89 while the mean of the Second 100 is 2.48. Similarly, the means derived from the Marshall Branding Scale for the Top 100 and Second 100 agencies reveal no significant differences. For the Top 100, the mean is 1.19 and for the Second 100, the mean is 1.01. Again, perhaps if the sample size is increased, there could be significant differences.

And finally, the number of agencies in the Top 100 and Second 100 making proprietary claims and leadership branding capabilities is too small to detect significant differences. Due to the very few agencies making such claims, it is highly doubtful that increasing the sample size will show significant differences.

Discussion

Clearly, agencies are presenting the concept of branding on their sites as over half, 52.5%, have at least one branding reference on the first two pages of their site. And the fact that over 33% have a reference on the first page of the site signals the elevation of branding as an important item within the agency's service portfolio. While there are no historical data with which to compare this information, the fact that such a large percentage of agencies have at least a single reference indicates that branding has emerged as a vital element in agency service offerings or as an important item on the agencies' agenda.

Underscoring this sheer presence is the fact that a large number of agencies are using a branding reference in their agency slogan or they are positioning branding as a mission the agency serves or a key service that they offer. This means that these agencies are either positioning themselves as a "branding agency" or are claiming that building brands is part of the agency "reason for being."

To further reinforce this tendency, for over 57% of those agencies with brand references on their site, the *initial* branding reference was either incorporated into the agency slogan or as part of the agency mission. This demonstrates the emphasis on which agencies are placing on their branding capabilities. Branding is not simply a research tool or a creative project; it is a vital and integral part of the agencies' service offerings to clients. It is the way the agencies are defining themselves.

Yet, while there is a high number of agencies attempting to define themselves as branding agencies, there are very few that actually present specific branding skills on their web sites: 15.6% have a Brand Definition Instrument; 2.5% have specific Brand Research Tools, and only .6% has Branding Creative Services.

However, over 40% of the agencies have generic references to "brand" or "branding" on their web sites. Thus, when considering how many agencies are presenting themselves as branding agencies or stating that building brands is their mission, the implication is that agencies are talking branding or about their branding skills but with very little actual skill base support. In other words, the agencies are quick to claim expertise in the area, but are unable or unwilling to define that expertise.

There appears to be a number of opportunities available to agencies not yet touting branding skills or that are doing so in a less than dramatic way. The data show that very few agencies chose to make proprietary claims against their branding capabilities. From this study, the opportunity to distinguish or emphasize the unique nature of their branding skills is a vast one for agencies. This can only help add credibility or legitimacy to the agency's skill set.

Also, only three agencies make any special claim for their ability to create "leadership" brands. This too seems like an ideal opportunity for other agencies.

However, it is also recognized here that an agency must have sufficient credentials in this area in order to make such a dramatic claim.

Regarding the extent to which agencies are presenting branding and their branding skills on their sites, the study presents yet another opportunity. With the means for total number of branding references and the Marshall Branding Scale so low, an aspiring agency can make an impact on site visitors with a larger number of references, whatever the actual brand reference type. The increased frequency of references can help reinforce in the visitor's mind that the agency considers branding to be important and that the agency has extensive or strong skills in branding.

Finally, in comparing the Top 100 agencies and the Second 100 agencies, it is apparent that while a number of agencies in the Second 100 have a strong branding presence on their web sites, the concept of branding is more prevalent among the sites of the Top 100 agencies. This could certainly be a function of the largest agencies having the larger clients and/or global clients, clients that would be likely to demand such services. But as this study shows, agencies other than the very large ones are now presenting their branding abilities, which could reflect that it is not just the bigger clients demanding such services.

Conclusions

While there are significantly more agencies among the Top 100 that promote their branding skills, it is clear that a fundamental shift is occurring where more and more agencies of varying sizes are promoting their branding skills on their web sites. Branding is not just for the top echelon of agencies. But the concept of branding is not yet ubiquitous. The opportunities still exist for other agencies to step in and make a substantive impact with an effective positioning and presentation of their branding skills. The key is not just to talk about branding but to support any claims of expertise and ability with a specific skill set covering the range of branding services.

Further research needs to be done among a wider number of agencies to determine if branding skills are offered by smaller agencies. This would demonstrate further that there is a fundamental shift occurring in the agency community. Also, it would be interesting to learn the extent to which research firms and management consulting firms are touting branding skills. Clearly, these groups represent a competitive threat against agencies and would bring powerful credentials and skills in branding services for clients.

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Table 1

Presence of Type of Branding Reference

	% Agencies with Type Reference
Agency Brand Slogan	12.5%
Brand Mission	32.5%
Brand Definition Instrument	15.6%
Brand Research Tools	2.5%
Branding Creative Services	.6%
Basic Brand Reference	40%

Table 2

Web Site Brand Presence – Top 100 vs. Second 100 Agencies

	Top 100 Agencies	Second 100 Agencies
Brand Presence		
First Two Pages	63.3%	42%

Adv -
PF+R

Advertising in the Islamic world:

The portrayal of women in Egyptian television commercials

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The portrayal of women in Egyptian television commercials

Abstract

This study examines the portrayal of men and women in Egyptian television commercials and provides insight about advertising content in the Islamic world. It attempts to examine how the content of Egyptian television commercials reflect Egyptian culture and compares the findings to content studies from the U.S. and other countries. A pool of 306 commercials and 337 primary characters were examined from 18 hours of Egyptian prime time programming. The findings revealed that, similar to studies from the U.S. and other countries, men and women were portrayed in stereotypical sex roles. Female characters in the commercials were significantly more likely than men to be portrayed as parents, homemakers and doing household chores while men were more likely to be cast in professional roles. Contrary to the strict cultural restrictions on public expression of sexuality in Egypt, 25% of the female characters in the commercials were suggestively dressed and about 12% of the ads contained some form of sexual content. No female characters appeared in the ads in traditional Islamic dress or veiled. The study concludes that Egyptian advertising reflects neither the expanding role of women in Egypt as professionals nor the growing influence of Islamic fundamentalism. A discussion about the role of women in Islam is also included.

Advertising in the Islamic world:

The portrayal of women in Egyptian television commercials

Since the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, much attention and interest has been focused on the Middle East and the Islamic world. One aspect of this attention is the role of women in Islam. The popular media have produced dozens of stories, documentary films and news reports about women in Islamic countries, many of which portray women existing under horrific conditions in the Middle East and Asia.

The portrayal of women in advertising in the Islamic world has been scarcely examined, however. Abernathy and Franke (1996) reported in their meta-analysis of advertising content studies that little is known about advertising content in countries other than the United States with no studies examining advertising in any African nation or the Middle East, with the exception of Saudi Arabia. This paper will attempt to address the lack of information that exists regarding advertising in the Islamic world by examining the portrayal of women in Egyptian television commercials.

Background

Egyptian Culture

Egypt is the largest, fastest growing and among the most modern of the Arab countries. Located in Northern Africa, its population of 69.5 million lives primarily in the Nile River valley (Central Intelligence Agency, 2001). Egypt was one of the first Middle Eastern countries to open up to the West. It is an intellectual and cultural leader in the region exporting a variety of entertainment programming, films, books and music throughout the Arab world. Arabic is the country's official language, however, English and French are widely spoken and understood (Kamalipour & Hamid, 1994).

Islam is the religion of the state and cultural force in Egypt. Over ninety percent of the population is Muslim with the remaining being primarily Christian (Central Intelligence Agency, 2001). The practice of Islam is complex and widely varied in Egypt with different classes and social groups applying Islamic beliefs in different ways. Some believe that religion should be a private matter for individuals while others would like Islam to be the driving force of public life (Metz, 1990). The growing presence Islamic extremist in Egypt and throughout the Middle East have threatened the governments and caused general unrest throughout the region (Crossette, 2001). Egypt's current government, unlike many of its Arab neighbors, has resisted attempts of Islamic militants to gain power. As a result, Egyptians enjoy a fairly modern and liberalized lifestyle that includes popular movies and music, nightclubs, restaurants and western-style dress (Eltahawy, 1999).

Egyptian media and the advertising industry

The Egyptian press is the most developed in the Arab world with Cairo as the largest publishing center of the Middle East (Kamalipour & Hamid, 1994). Although the country enjoys considerable freedom of the press relative to other Arab countries, all media are under governmental supervision and partial governmental ownership (Metz, 1990). The media, including television, carries advertising though the government maintains fixed and non-negotiable rates (Leo Burnett Worldwide Advertising, 1994).

Most multinational advertising agencies have offices in Egypt including Impact-BBDO Egypt, D'Arcy Egypt, Publicis-Graphics, Team/Young & Rubicam, Saatchi &

Saatchi, Ama Leo Burnett, and DDB (Leo Burnett Worldwide Advertising, 1994) supporting clients such as Pepsi, Nestle and Procter & Gamble. Additionally there are several Egyptian-based advertising agencies including Direct Advertising, Animation, and Tarek Nour Advertising (SIS, 1992).

Egyptian television follows an "Informal Code of Ethics," which was adopted by the Egyptian Radio and TV Union. The first article of this code indicates that advertisements shall not include "any material conflicting with religious or moral principles and values or contain any element that would lead to the provocation or disturbance of the society or which would harm the best interest of the nation before other nations." (SIS, 1992) Advertising of alcohol beverages and medicine are banned in Egypt. Also the code of dress indicates that no dress appearing sexual is allowed in television commercials. Cigarette advertising is banned from all broadcast media, however, it is allowed in print and outdoor media with a health warning. (Leo Burnett Worldwide Advertising, 1994)

The role of women in Egypt

A post September 11 feature story in *Time* magazine (Beyer, 2001) reviewed the status of women in Islam and points out that nowhere in the Muslim world are women treated as equals, but that their status varies from relatively liberated in Turkey to severely restricted in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. The story puts the modern countries of Egypt and Jordan somewhere near the middle of the continuum in the treatment of women.

When examining the role of women in Islamic countries, one must be careful not to look at culture and think it represents the religion. Despite the horrific persecution of women under the Taliban in Afghanistan, not all Islamic countries treat women so severely. The practice of Islam is hugely different throughout the Arab world, as is the treatment of women. According to Leila Ahmed, a professor at Harvard University and specialist in women's studies and religion "It really is a combination of the politics of the day and who is in control of the particular country and what did they believe Islam is" (Ahmed, 1992). Though the Arab culture is extremely patriarchal placing the male in the dominant role both inside and outside the home, the Koran, according to many Islamic scholars, does not advance the thesis of women as inherently inferior, only different (Harris & Moran, 2000).

Two powerful yet conflicting cultural forces exist in 21st century Egypt, an emerging feminist movement and resurgent Islamic fundamentalism (Harris & Moran, 2001). In Egypt and other Islamic countries, laws regarding family and women's issues tend to be influenced by Islamic Law or Sharia'a. While the interpretation of the Sharia'a varies, it is most often used by Middle Eastern governments to subjugate women and make them the possessions of their husbands (Arabsheibani, 2000). Primarily due to the long-time efforts of the women's movement in Egypt, Egyptian women have earned many rights and are, for the most part, considered equal to men under Egyptian law except in regards to marriage, divorce and custody of the children (Metz, 1990). A recent law has been passed in Egypt making it easier for women to obtain a divorce, but women still cannot leave the country without their husband's permission (Beyer, 2001).

Rural and lower class Egyptians generally believe that women are inferior to men (Metz, 1990). A study (Ibrahim,1980) about women as production workers in urban Egypt described the gender role in lower-class Egyptian society. Husbands were assigned as the primary breadwinner for the family and responsible for household expenses. On the other hand, traditional married women managed the household, cared for the children and budgeted their husbands' income to meet all the household needs. However, gender roles have changed gradually because of the realities of the Egyptian economy since the 1970s. Women are now working outside the home in greater numbers with about 34% of Egyptian women employed in the work force (World Bank, 2001). Some women hold professional positions as doctors and engineers while others are quite successful in scholarly and public life (Crossette, 2001). However, most Egyptian working women are employed in low paying, unskilled jobs in factories, offices and in service industries (Metz, 1990).

In Egyptian society much value is placed on honor *(ird)* with sexual behavior and the reputation of the women in the family being an important aspect of a family's honor. To avoid a bad reputation and possible disgrace for the family, women are often segregated from men. When in the presence of men from other families women are always on their best behavior because "they are afraid of getting a bad reputation" which could destroy the families social standing and in extreme cases result in death for the woman (Metz, 1990).

In Islamic countries, including Egypt, both men and women are expected to dress modestly (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000). The Koran addresses the dress code for women explicitly. According to the Koran, woman's hair and body should be covered for two reasons; first, to be identified as a Muslim woman and second to not appearing alluring or as a sex object to men. Wearing a veil and covering the face is purely optional in Egypt and not practiced by most women, though it is becoming more popular as the Islamic fundamentalist movement spreads (Beyer, 2001). Some women feel more comfortable veiled or do so because of family and religious pressure. Many feminists have adopted the veil in recent years, not as a form of repression, but as a way to free themselves from the sexual harassment of men (Ahmed, 1992).

Review of the Literature

During the last three decades scholars have studied the portrayal of women in advertising. The majority of the research, most examining U.S. advertising, has shown that women are typically portrayed as housewives and mothers, and often used as sex objects and decoration in advertising (Bretl & Cantor, 1988, Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Craig, 1992; Dominick & Rauch, 1972). The typical woman, as seen in U.S. television commercials, is dependent on her male counterpart for making decisions and giving advice or is a sexy spokesmodel. One study described U.S. advertising as portraying women in one of two roles: "attracting and attaining a man, and then serving him in the role of housewife and mother" (Courtney & Whipple, 1983).

Theoretical Framework

Cultivation analysis research suggests that over time, people who are exposed to a particular view of the world on television, begin to accept that depiction of the world as reality (Gerbner, 1998). Given the concern that advertising may influence society's perception of appropriate sex roles, feminists, researchers and others have expressed concern about the roles portrayed by women in advertising (Gilly, 1988). They believe that these stereotypes serve as poor models and inhibit sympathetic understanding of individual differences. Pollay (1986) suggested that if there were no other influences to counter the effects of advertising, people would restrict their expectations to those stereotyped roles.

Cross-cultural studies of the portrayal of women in advertising

Research on the portrayal of women in advertising has not been limited to the United States. Several studies have been conducted which examine advertising in other countries including such as Britain (Furnham & Bitar, 1993), Italy (Furnham & Voli, 1989) and Kenya (Mwagni, 1996). A few researchers have looked at gender depiction across cultures by comparing U.S. advertising to that of other countries (e.g. Gilly, 1986; Sengupta, 1996; Wiles, Wiles & Tjernlund, 1996). These studies have generally concluded that the portrayal of women in advertising varies according to the culture and the status of women in the country's society. For example, in Mexico, where the women's movement was slower to develop and traditional views of women as wives and mothers are deeply held, the commercials show women in dependent roles (Gilly, 1988). By contrast, in Australia where the women's movement is more advanced, the television commercials portray men and women more equally.

Studies of the portrayal of women in advertising in Islamic countries

Studies that examine the role of women in advertising in Islamic countries are limited. *Advertising Age* (Kline, 1982) reported in the early 1980s that there was considerable debate about the use of women in advertising in some Muslim countries, especially Saudi Arabia, due to their repressive attitudes toward women.

Wee, Choong and Tambyah (1995) examined sex role portrayal in television advertising in Singapore and Malaysia. They concluded that the culture of the country and target audience is an important factor influencing the depiction of women in advertising. In the Malaysian commercials, a country where Islam is the dominant religion, men were portrayed as top executives and in independent roles while women were most often seen as young housewives who stayed at home to care for the house and children. By contrast, in the ads from Singapore, a more modern society where Islam is less dominant, women were more often employed outside home in white-collar and service occupations. The female characters in Singaporean advertising were most often attractive, young women who were concerned with looking good.

Fullerton (2000) analyzed television commercials in the Central Asian country of Uzbekistan where Islam is experiencing a resurgence after years of Soviet domination. Fullerton found that women were portrayed in traditional sex-stereotyped roles most often performing household chores. Men were portrayed significantly more often than women in professional roles and working outside the home. The study noted that while women were portrayed in stereotypical female roles the findings did not reflect the extreme male-dominated culture that exists in Uzbekistan. For example, traditional Asian dress, a symbol of the culture was found in only ten percent of commercials and in a country where open sexual expression is taboo, sexual contact was found in twenty percent of the ads. The study noted that many of the Uzbekistani commercials originated in Moscow and therefore could be more of a reflection of Russian than Uzbek culture.

A study of Saudi television commercials (Al-Makaty, et al, 1996) concluded that women were only shown if their presence relates directly to the product and if they are appropriately dressed-head covering and long dresses. Generally, females were portrayed in traditional roles as mothers and housekeeping and were not allowed to sing.

Al-Olayan and Karande (2000) investigated differences in content of magazine advertisements from the United States and the Arab world including Egypt. Among the differences that they studied was the depiction of men and women based on the role of religion in forming values. They concluded that when ads pictured men and/ or women, they were portrayed with the same frequency in both the U.S. and the Arab world. However, the portrayal of women differed. Women were used in magazine ads mainly when their presence relates to the advertised product and not as a sex object. Also, when female models were used, they were shown wearing long dresses covering their body. The researchers emphasized the importance for advertisers to be sensitive to the religious implications of their creative strategies.

Two studies by Egyptian scholars (in Arabic) can be found dealing with the portrayal of women in the mass media. Al-Abed, (1983) conducted a study to describe the portrayal of women in Egyptian television drama. This study concluded that men appeared in 70% of the shows, while women appeared only in 30%. Also, women were more likely to be housewives, caring for children, and mostly seen as victims. The study indicated that although women have held highly ranked positions in Egypt for some time, this image was not reflected in most television programming.

Another Egyptian study (Abdel-Rahman, 1981) examined how women were portrayed in two major Egyptian newspapers. The study concluded that these papers mostly portrayed women in traditional ways. The papers emphasized the role of women as mothers and housewives more than professionals and decision makers.

Research Questions

This research study is designed to explore the portrayal of men and women in Egyptian television advertisements by analyzing the content of television commercials in Egypt and comparing the findings to U.S. and other country's advertising, as reported in the literature. Several variables are examined in order to analyze how men and women are depicted, for example, characters present, setting, voice of primary narrator, male/female relationship roles, degree of dress, primary role, and age. This study attempts to answer three research questions:

1. What is the content of Egyptian prime time television commercials in terms of gender-role portrayal?
2. Does the portrayal of women in the commercials reflect current Egyptian culture?
3. What are the differences between Egypt and other country's advertising in terms of gender portrayal in television commercials?

Method

Content analysis is the chosen method for this study. Content analysis is defined as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 15). Content analysis is frequently used in all areas of the media including most studies that examine gender portrayal in television commercials (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

Sample

Eighteen hours of Egypt's First Channel prime time (7-10 p.m.) programming was videotaped during the last six days of May 2001. The commercials during that period were not influenced by any special events or holidays. First Channel was selected for this study because it reaches 95% of the Egyptian households and is the most widely watched television station in Egypt. First Channel began broadcasting in 1960 and was the first TV station in Egypt (Egyptian Radio/TV Yearbook, 2000). As is all of Egyptian television, First Channel is under government control. Programming on First Channel runs 23 hours per day. It starts and ends each programming day with readings of the Koran followed by the national anthem. According to Islamic custom, programming is interrupted five times per day to announce prayer time. The station's format is general programming with 90 minutes of commercials daily (Egyptian Radio/TV Yearbook, 2000).

All commercials, public service announcements and promotional announcements broadcast during the 18 hours of programming were analyzed including those that were repeated to provide a complete picture of non-programming content. For the purposes of this study, the terms "commercials" and "advertisements" will be used in reference to all non-programming spots, paid or unpaid.

The 18 hours of programming contained 101 distinct commercials many of which were repeated one or more times, resulting in a total pool of 306 commercials.

Coders

Two female mass communication graduate students were trained as coders. One student was an English-only speaking American and the other, an Egyptian citizen fluent in both English and Arabic. Since most of the commercials were in Arabic, the Egyptian student translated each commercial into English. Both coders evaluated the television commercials separately using a pencil and paper coding sheet. Disagreements were noted and resolved, yielding one set of data.

Instrument

An instrument of analysis used by Fullerton (2000) in a study of Uzbekistani television commercials and by Fullerton and Kendrick (2000) in a study of U.S. Spanish-language television was also used in this study to provide consistency for comparison across cultures. The instrument employed variables compiled from different published studies, including from Craig (1992) for "characters present," from Bretl & Cantor (1988) for "setting," and "primary narrator," from Goffman (1976) for "male/female relationship roles," from Soley & Kurzbard (1986) for "sexual content," "sexual contact," and "degree of dress," and from McArthur & Resko (1975) for "primary role." Sixteen items involved the commercial-as-a-whole (such as whether the primary narrator was male or female), followed by 21 pieces of data for up to two primary male adult characters and two primary female adult characters in each commercial. Using the guideline set by Schneider & Schneider (1979), a primary character was defined as one who was on-camera for a minimum of three seconds or had at least one line of dialogue.

Intercoder Reliability

The 101 commercials yielded to a total of 337 primary characters, which resulted in a total of 7,884 judgments. Disagreements between coders were resolved and intercoder reliability was calculated at .956 using Holsti's (1969) formula.

Findings

(1) Commercial Content

Type and Length. Of the 306 non-programming spots, 245 were paid product or service spots, 35 were public service announcements and 26 were station promotional announcements. Unlike U.S. television spots, which are generally 60, 30, or 15 seconds in length, the Egyptian television spots varied greatly in length with 30-seconds being most common (29.7%), followed by 60-seconds (11.4%), 20-seconds (10.8%) and 40-seconds (7.8%). The remaining spots were at various lengths from two to 280 seconds with the longest being public service announcements.

Language. Most of the commercials were in Arabic language (89.5%). Almost six percent did not contain a spoken language but used only music. About four percent were in English and only one was broadcast in both Arabic and English.

Commercial Sponsors. The 306 commercials represented a variety of sponsors. Entertainment, such as movies, music, concerts, books and magazines, was the most prominent (35% N=107) followed by packaged food including butter, oil, cookies and candy (11.4% N=35). Other sponsors included household cleaning goods (11. 1% N=34), PSAs (9.5% N=29), services such as phone cards and banking (8.8% N=27), personal hygiene products (8.5% N=26), soft drinks such as cola, juice, tea, or coffee (6.9% N=21), durable goods (5.9% N=18) and other (2.6% N=8). There was only one ad for automobile.

Narration. The majority of the spots featured male narrators (61.1%). Women narrated about fifteen percent (14.1%) of the spots and slightly more than one-tenth of the spots (11.8%) were narrated by both men and women. Almost 13% had no voices, just music and images or words on the screen.

Character Sex. There were more women than men in the Egyptian televisions commercials. Of the 337 codable characters, 55.2% were women and 44.8% were men.

Character Mix. More than one-fourth of the commercials featured an all-adult mixed-sex cast (28.1%) with an almost equal amount containing no human characters

(27.1%). Almost one-fifth of the spots contained characters with a mix of ages and genders (18%) and approximately another one-fifth contained an all female adult cast (18%), followed by an all male adult cast (10.1%), children or teens (9.8%) and females with children (2.9%). Only one spot showed a male character with children.

Setting. Almost one-third of the commercials (33%) featured unclear or other settings, followed by commercials taking place in multiple settings (25.8%), outdoors away from home (22.5%), other room in the house (6.5%), in the kitchen (4.6%), in social settings (2.6%), in a business (2%), in a school (1.6%), in the bathroom (1%) and outside at home (.3%).

Goffman's Sex Roles. Using Goffman's (1976) scale of male/female roles, about twelve percent of the commercials portrayed men or women in traditional roles. Less than six percent of the commercials found men and women in reverse roles and about twenty percent featured equal roles. More than half (61.4%) of the commercials did not feature men and women interacting with one another so no Goffman sex role portrayal was coded.

Sexual Content and Contact. Most of the commercials (88%) did not feature sexual content or sexual contact. Within the 39 commercials containing some form of sexual contact 3.9% contained eye contact, 4.2% featured characters holding hands and 4.6% showed other contact such as hugging or dancing.

Degree of Dress. Degree of dress was coded following Soley & Kurzbard's (1986) definitions. Those dressed normally were coded as fully dressed while those dressed in sexy, tight or low cut clothing or with bare shoulders, stomachs or chests were coded as suggestively clad. Those in bathing suits or lingerie were coded as partially clad.

In this study, most models were fully dressed and none of the characters were coded as partially clad or nude. Women were significantly more likely to be suggestively dressed than men (X^2=37.022, df=1, sig=.0001) with almost one-fourth of the female characters in sexually suggestive clothing.

****************************Insert Table 1 about here ***********************.

Type of Dress. The majority of the commercials featured models wearing Western or European style clothing (91.1%). The remainder of the models wore traditional Arabic clothing. None of the female characters were shown with covered hair.

Role of Primary Characters. Men and women were statistically significantly different in terms of the roles of the primary characters. Men were less likely to be cast as a homemaker (X^2=11.752, df=1, sig=.001), parent (X^2=8.716, df=1, sig=.003), or performing household chores (X^2=4.099, df=1, sig=.043), but more often as a professional (X^2=12.988, df=1, sig=.0001). Women were also more often portrayed as autonomous individuals (X^2=8.554, df=1, sig=.003). A high percentage of the characters had roles that were classified as "other." These characters were in the role of product representatives, models or children.

****************************Insert Table 2 about here ***********************

Age of Characters. For adult characters, there was a significant difference between the ages of the male and female characters with women being generally younger than their male counterparts (X^2=23.052, df=4, sig=.0001). Women were more likely to be between the ages of 21 and 30 while men were more likely to be over 50. . Only 3.6% of the primary characters were teens or children with more girls than boys.

****************************Insert Table 3 about here ***********************

(2) Commercial Content as a Reflection of Egyptian Culture

The findings of this study are consistent with Egyptian culture revealing that Egyptian commercials contain many stereotyped sex-role portrayals. Despite the efforts of the women's movement, Egyptian society remains fairly traditional with women subordinate to men and responsible for maintaining the household and caring for children (e.g. Beyer, 2001, Crossette, 2001, Harris & Moran, 2000 ; Arabsheibani, 2000; Metz, 1990; Ibrihim, 1985). The commercials in this study featured women significantly more often than men as parents, homemakers and doing household chores. Only one ad showed a male character alone with children.

Reportedly 34% of the women in Egypt are employed outside the home (World Bank, 2001); however only eleven percent of the female characters in the commercials were shown in working roles, primarily in an office or other professional setting. Some Egyptian women are employed in professional jobs but they mostly work as laborers (Metz, 1990). In this regard, working women on television appear less frequently than they do in the Egyptian workforce, but have much higher status occupations than do most of the working women in Egypt.

The commercial character's type and degree of dress does not seem consistent with current Egyptian culture. Egypt is an Islamic country where women are expected to wear modest dress that covers their bodies and hair (Beyer, 2001), however none of the commercials portrayed women in Islamic dress or wearing a veil. The majority of female characters were in dressed in modern European-style clothing. Though the majority of the characters in the commercials were not sexually clad, almost one-fourth of women were suggestively dressed in a way that would not be acceptable in Egyptian culture. It should be noted, however, that the suggestively clad models tended to appear in commercials for entertainment products, such as movies or music, often as belly dancers or in love scenes.

In a culture where open sexual expression is rarely witnessed in public, according to the findings of this study, it can be found on television. More than one out of ten of the ads featured some form of sexual content with significantly more sexual images found in spots for entertainment and personal products (X^2=103.681, df=27, sig=.0001)

(3) Comparisons with U.S. and Foreign Television Advertising

Because this study analyzed only Egyptian television ads, direct comparisons to U.S. and other country's commercials are difficult to make. Comparisons to other reported studies in the literature that use different instruments, media and methods should be viewed with caution. However, some comparisons can be made.

Similar to studies of U.S. television commercials during the past three decades (e.g. Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Schneider & Schneider, 1979; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992), the findings of this study reveal stereotypical sex roles for men and women with men more likely to appear in professionals roles and women more likely to be shown as parents and doing household chores. Also similar to U.S. television commercials women are generally younger (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000) and more likely to be sexually clad (Soley & Kurzbard, 1986). The narrators in the commercials were predominately male in both the U.S. (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992) and Egypt. Egyptian commercials contained about the same level of sexual content (11.1%) as a recent U.S. advertising study (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2001).

There were more women in Egyptian television spots than men, a finding consistent with studies from other countries (Furnham & Voli, 1989; Mwangi, 1996; Zhou, 1997) but different from U.S. television commercials, which generally feature more male characters than female (McArthur & Resko, 1975; Craig, 1992; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2001). Unlike U.S. advertising, which is dominated by automobile sponsors (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2001), the commercials in this study featured only one car commercial.

Since this study utilized the same instrument used to analyze U.S. Spanish-language television advertising (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2001) and Uzbekistani television commercials (Fullerton, 2000), direct comparisons to these studies are easy to make. Generally speaking, Spanish-language ads, Uzbekistani ads, and Egyptian ads are similar, specifically in terms of the presence of more women than men as primary characters; women being younger than men; women more often being featured in domestic roles and men in working roles; women being more likely to be suggestively clad than men; and the dominance of male narrators. In the Egyptian spots, there was less sexual content and contact (11%) than in U.S. Spanish-language television (23.9%) or in Uzbekistani (19%) commercials. However, women in Egyptian commercials (23%) were more often suggestively clad than women in Spanish-language ads (15%), but less often than those in Uzbekistani commercials (33%).

In the Egyptian spots, about 28% of the commercials aired with no characters compared to only ten percent of the U.S. spots (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2001). This finding is consistent with Al-Olyan and Karande's (2000) study, which found that people are depicted less frequently in Arabic ads than in U.S. ads. However, Al-Olyan and Karande's study reported that when female models are used in Arabic advertisements they are shown wearing long dresses covering their body for religious reasons. This is inconsistent with the current study where over ninety percent of the female models were shown in European-style dress. However it should be noted that Al-Olyan & Kirande's study analyzed magazine advertisements in Egypt and other Arab countries while this study examined television advertising.

Summary and Conclusion

This study examines the portrayal of men and women in Egyptian television commercials. Though limited by the size and non-random nature of the sample, it provides a profile of advertising content from a part of the world about which little is known (Abernathy & Franke, 1996) and offers some insight about the portrayal of gender in the Islamic world.

The findings are consistent with other gender role studies conducted in the United States and other countries featuring women in stereotypical roles as parents, homemakers and performing household chores. Women were younger than men and more often provocatively dressed in the ads. Men, by contrast, were twice as likely to be shown as professionals and dominated as voice-over narrators.

In a comparison to Egyptian culture, which is considered modern by Middle Eastern standards, but which maintains traditional Islamic beliefs in terms of the role of women in society, the findings provide some interesting contrasts. About six percent of the commercials portrayed reverse sex-roles. Females appeared more frequently than males in the commercials, were portrayed more often than men as autonomous individuals, and were in professional roles about eleven percent of the time. Such findings are quite a contrast when compared to the severely repressed role of women in Islam that is currently being reported in the Western press (e.g. Beyer, 2001).

While most of the women in Egypt wear European-style clothing, modest dress is expected and Islamic dress and veils are becoming more popular. However, about one-fourth of female characters in Egyptian commercials were suggestively clad and none were veiled. In a country that strictly inhibits sexual expression, more than one out of ten of the ads contained sexual content.

The findings of this study indicate that Egyptian advertising reflects neither the expanding role of women in Egypt as professionals nor the growing influence of fundamentalist Islam, which dictates female modesty and subordination. The Egyptian television commercials essentially look like commercials throughout the world, which are generally filled with beautiful, young women tending to the household and children while promoting products that make their homes cleaner and their bodies more attractive.

It may be concluded that advertising in Egypt and throughout the world, portrays a society that really does not exist in any culture, but most resembles the traditional American homemaker of the 1950s. As Courtney and Whipple (1983) noted, "the images of the sexes in advertising are not keeping pace with the change but in fact reflect the status quo of a time gone by."

Table 1. Degree of Dress of Primary Characters in Egyptian Television Commercials

Degree of dress	**Female % (N)**	**Male % (N)**
Fully/normally clothed	76.9 (143)	99.3 (150)
Suggestively clad	23.1 (43)	.7% (1)
Partially clad	0	0

Table 2. Roles of Adult Primary Characters in Egyptian Television Commercials**

Role	**Female % (N=)**	**Male (% N=)**
Parent*	28 (52)	14.6 (22)
Responsible for the Home	9.7 (18)	6.6 (10)
Homemaker*	11.8 (22)	2 (3)
Performing household chores*	9.7 (18)	4.0 (6)
Advising the other sex	3.2 (6)	4.6 (7)
Autonomous individuals*	17.2 (32)	6.6 (10)
Professional*	11.3 (21)	26.5 (40)
Non-professional worker	4.8 (9)	4.0 (6)
Lover/spouse	8.1 (15)	3.3 (5)
Other*	33.9 (63)	50.3 (76)

*p<.05

**Characters could be coded into more than one role category

Table 3. Age of Primary Characters in Egyptian Television Commercials

Age	**Female %(N)**	**Male %(N)**
Under 20	5.4 (10)	1.3 (2)
21-30	53.2 (99)	33.1 (50)
31-40	31.2 (58)	49.7 (75)

41-50	3,8 (7)	2.6 (4)
Over 50	6.5 (12)	13.2 (20)

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“Advertising and the First Amendment: The *Central Hudson* Analysis and the Impact of *Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly*”

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Abstract

Since 1980, the Supreme Court has used a complex form of intermediate constitutional scrutiny – the *Central Hudson* analysis – as a litmus test for government regulations of commercial speech. In *Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* (2001), the Court used this analysis for the first time to test the constitutionality of state restrictions on tobacco advertising. This paper reviews the Court's commercial speech doctrine through the *Lorillard Tobacco* decision and determines the legal impact of that case.

Advertising and the First Amendment: The Central Hudson Analysis and the Impact of Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly

Introduction

Since 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court has utilized a unique and complex form of intermediate constitutional scrutiny as a litmus test when government tries to restrict advertising or – in First Amendment terminology – "commercial speech." Established by the Court in *Central Hudson Gas & Electric Co. v. Public Service Commission* (1980), the so-called "*Central Hudson* analysis" has been applied by the Court with varying degrees of rigor as legal commentators have noted (e.g., Boedecker, et al. 1995, Hoefges and Rivera-Sanchez 2000, Langvardt 2000, Post 2000, Richards 1997, and Troy 1999). Writing in the *UCLA Law Review*, one commentator recently called the Court's commercial speech doctrine a "notoriously unstable and contentious domain of American jurisprudence" and concluded that "[n]o other realm of First Amendment law has proved as divisive" (Post 2000, p. 23).

Over the last two decades, the level of First Amendment protection for advertising has plummeted to nearly non-existent (see *Posadas de Puerto Rico Assocs. v. Tourism Co. of Puerto Rico* 1986 and *United States v. Edge Broad. Co.* 1993) and recently risen to its current nadir approaching that of fully-protected non-commercial speech (see *Rubin v. Coors Brewing Co.* 1995, *44 Liquormart, Inc. v. Rhode Island* 1996, *Greater New Orleans Broad. Ass'n v. U.S.* 1999, *Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* 2001, *Thompson v. Western States Medical Center* 2002). As pointed out by Langvardt (2000, p. 650), the Court's recent commercial speech decisions have nearly eliminated the gap between commercial speech and fully-protected non-commercial speech under the First Amendment.

In a recent line of cases, the Supreme Court utilized an increasingly rigorous version of the *Central Hudson* analysis to strike down federal restrictions on beer label content in *Rubin v. Coors Brewing Co.* (1995), state restrictions on retail liquor advertising in *44 Liquormart, Inc. v. Rhode Island* (1996), and federal restrictions on broadcast advertising for casino gambling in *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting Association v. U.S.* (1999). As reviewed in detail by Hoefges and Rivera-Sanchez (2000), all of these cases involved so-called "vice" advertising for products and activities that are legal for adults but arguably carry harmful secondary effects for society especially minors. The approach in these represented a marked departure from the manner in which earlier "vice" advertising cases had been decided by the Court in the cases *Posadas de Puerto*

Rico Associates v. Tourism Co. of Puerto Rico (1986) and *United States v. Edge Broadcasting Co.* (1993), in which the Court had rejected First Amendment challenges to gambling advertising restrictions.

In *Reilly v. Lorillard Tobacco Co.* (2001), the Court for the first time addressed the constitutionality of state restrictions on tobacco advertising. In that case, a splintered Court utilized a combination of federal pre-emption principles and the *Central Hudson* analysis to strike down Massachusetts regulations that effectively banned most outdoor and point-of-sale tobacco advertising. When Justice O'Connor announced the release of the Court's opinion, she quipped that readers would need a "roadmap" to follow the justices' votes on the various rulings in the case (Leonard 2001), and media accounts described the opinion as "mix-and-match" (Mauro 2001) and "tangled" (Associated Press 2001). However, as the author of the principal opinion, Justice O'Connor assured onlookers that there was a majority of the Court for each part of the decision (Mauro 2001).

This article first explores the commercial speech doctrine and looks at how the Supreme Court had utilized the *Central Hudson* analysis in its commercial speech cases leading up to the *Lorillard Tobacco* decision. Next, the article sets out the national regulatory framework for tobacco advertising, which provides relevant context for the discussion and analysis of the *Lorillard Tobacco* case. The article then analyzes the legal significance of the Court's *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion and traces its impact in lower federal and state court cases. Finally, the article provides analysis and conclusions. This research extends the work of Richards (1997), who traced the commercial speech doctrine through the Court's 1996 decision in *44 Liquormart*, and that of Langvardt (2000) and Hoefges and Rivera-Sanchez (2000), who provided such analyses through the Court's 1999 decision in *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL SPEECH DOCTRINE AND *CENTRAL HUDSON* ANALYSIS

Through the early 1970s, the Supreme Court had never fully assimilated advertising into the First Amendment as a form of constitutionally-protected speech (see, e.g., *Pittsburgh Press Co. v. Pittsburgh Comm'n on Human Relations* 1973, *Breard v. Alexander* 1951, *Valentine v. Chrestensen* 1942). In 1976, the Court decided *Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council, Inc.* and shifted its position. In *Virginia Board*, the Court ruled for the first time that pure commercial speech – meaning speech that did no more than "propose a commercial transaction" – was protected by the First Amendment, though not as fully as non-commercial political and social speech (p. 762). The *Virginia Board* Court clearly acknowledged the informational value of advertising, stating: "Advertising, however tasteless and excessive it sometimes may seem, nonetheless is the dissemination of information as to who is producing an selling what product and for what reason" (p. 765).

In *Virginia Board*, the Court struck down a Virginia regulation that banned state-licensed pharmacists from advertising prescription drug prices. The Court said that the First Amendment protected a commercial speaker's right to speak and, perhaps more importantly, the public's right to receive non-misleading commercial information. Writing for the *Virginia Board* Court, Justice Blackmun stated:

> So long as we preserve a predominantly free enterprise economy, the allocation of our resources in large measure will be made through numerous private economic decisions. It is a matter of public interest that those decisions, in the aggregate, be intelligent and well informed. To this end, the free flow of commercial information is indispensable. (p. 765)

Justice Blackmun went on to say that while some advertising might be viewed as frivolous or light in substantive informational content, the "general rule is that the speaker and the audience, *not* the government, assess the value of the information presented" (pp. 503-504) (emphasis added).

The *Virginia Board* Court clearly was aware that some advertising might include both commercial speech and non-commercial political and social speech. For instance, Justice Blackmun pointed out that advertising for American-made goods might include the claim that imported products could harm the domestic employment market. However, he was careful to point out that the First Amendment protected pure commercial speech regardless of whether it contained non-commercial speech political or social speech. As reviewed by Petty (1993, pp. 172-176), how to sift "non-commercial" from "commercial" content for First Amendment purposes has been addressed by a number of legal and marketing scholars without clear consensus. As will be discussed, the validity of the commercial/non-commercial distinction under the speech clause of the First Amendment continues to trouble some of the current Supreme Court justices.

Establishment of the Central Hudson Analysis

In *Virginia Board*, the Court provided intermediate and not full First Amendment protection for non-misleading commercial speech but did not explain what level of government regulation of non-misleading advertising the First Amendment would tolerate. However, that came in 1980 in the *Central Hudson* case mentioned above. In that case, the Court struck down a New York state regulation that banned public utility companies from advertising to promote energy consumption.

Writing for the *Central Hudson* Court, Justice Powell set out and applied a four-factor analysis that would become the standard means for testing the constitutionality of government restrictions on commercial speech. Writing for the *Central Hudson* Court, Justice Powell stated:

> [First], we must determine whether the expression is protected by the First Amendment. For commercial speech to come within that provision, it at least must concern a lawful activity and not be misleading. [Second], we ask whether the asserted governmental interest is substantial. If both inquiries yield positive answers, we must [third] determine whether the regulation directly advances the governmental interest asserted, and [fourth] whether it is not more extensive than is necessary to serve that interest. (*Central Hudson* 1980, p. 566)

Turning to the New York regulation at issue, the *Central Hudson* Court said that the ban clearly restricted protected commercial speech under the first factor, which meant proceeding through the final three factors. Under the second factor, the *Central Hudson* Court found that New York had demonstrated sufficiently "clear and substantial" regulatory interests in promoting energy conservation and ensuring that utility rates were fair and efficient (pp. 568-569). Under the third factor, the Court said that the state's interest in promoting energy conservation was "directly advanced" by the advertising ban because an "immediate connection between advertising and demand for electricity" existed (p. 570). On this point, Justice Blackmun – who had written the majority opinion in *Virginia Board* – disagreed with the *Central Hudson* majority that a ban on protected speech was a permissible way for the state to advance its goal of promoting energy conservation. He pointed out that the majority had not cited any empirical evidence that an advertising ban would effectively curb energy demand and consumption (pp. 574-575). This point was somewhat moot, however. Ultimately, the majority concluded that the ban failed the fourth factor and was unconstitutional because the state had not demonstrated that a "less speech restrictive" means would be ineffective (p. 571).

The *Central Hudson* opinion is significant for establishing the four-factor analysis. However, the opinion is also remarkable because the Court clearly recognized the strong public policy interest in protecting free flowing commercial information, extending that rationale from its 1976 *Virginia Board* opinion. Writing for the *Central Hudson* Court, Justice Powell stated:

> The First Amendment...protects commercial speech from unwarranted governmental regulation. Commercial expression not only serves the economic interest of the speaker, but also assists consumers and furthers the societal interest in the fullest possible dissemination of information. ...[W]e have rejected the 'highly paternalistic' view that government has complete power to suppress or regulate commercial speech. (pp. 561-562)

In a concurring opinion in *Central Hudson*, Justice Brennan echoed point and said that government cannot constitutionally regulate advertising simply because it fears the public will find the message persuasive (p. 581).

The Court was not unanimous in adopting the *Central Hudson* analysis. In a concurring opinion joined by Justice Brennan, Justice Blackmun said that non-misleading advertising should receive full First Amendment protection, writing that "[n]o differences between commercial speech and other protected speech justify suppression of commercial speech in order to influence public conduct through manipulation of the availability of information" (p. 573). On the other hand, in a dissenting opinion, Justice Rehnquist said that the four-part analysis, as applied by the *Central Hudson* majority, went too far and would "unduly impair" the ability of government to enact "economic" regulations (pp. 584-585). Despite these opposing concerns, the four-factor analysis was adopted by the Supreme Court as the appropriate form of intermediate constitutional scrutiny for government regulations of commercial speech and has been utilized by courts ever since.

Typically, once it has been determined that a regulation restricts protected commercial speech under the first *Central Hudson* factor, the Court has been somewhat liberal in finding that an asserted government interest is sufficiently "clear and substantial" under the second factor. Under the second factor, the Court has approved asserted interests in promoting traffic safety and city aesthetics in billboard zoning cases (*Metromedia, Inc. v. City of San Diego* 1981, *City of Cincinnati v. Discovery Network, Inc.* 1993); protecting family privacy regarding birth control in a contraception direct-mail advertising case (*Bolger v. Youngs Drug Products Corp.* 1983); protecting public "health, safety, and welfare" in gambling and alcohol advertising and labeling cases (*Posadas de Puerto Rico Assocs. v. Tourism Co. of Puerto Rico* 1986, *Rubin v. Coors Brewing Co.* 1995, *44*

Liquormart, Inc. v. Rhode Island 1996, *Greater New Orleans Broad. Ass'n v. U.S.* 1999); protecting the gambling policies of individual states in gambling advertising cases (*United States v. Edge Broad. Co.* 1993, *Greater New Orleans Broad. Ass'n v. U.S.* 1999); and preventing fraud and protecting individual privacy in lawyer and accountant solicitation cases (*Edenfield v. Fane* 1993, *Florida Bar v. Went For It, Inc.* 1995). In fact, the Court has only found two asserted regulatory interests insufficient under the second factor since deciding *Central Hudson*, those being asserted regulatory interests in shielding recipients from mail they might find "offensive" (*Bolger v. Young Drugs Prods. Corp.* 1983, p. 72), and preserving general "state authority" over alcohol sales and marketing (*Rubin v. Coors Brewing Co.* 1995, p. 486).

Most of the Court's commercial speech decisions since *Central Hudson* have turned on application of the critical third and fourth factors. As mentioned, these require the government to demonstrate that the challenged regulation "directly advances" the regulatory interest, and that the government has selected a regulatory means that is "not more extensive than necessary" to achieve its goals. These requirements have proven problematic in application as evidenced by inconsistency in Supreme Court opinions.

Third Central Hudson Factor: The "Direct-advancement" Requirement

The *Central Hudson* Court said in 1980 that the third factor focused on the "relationship" between the asserted government interest and the advertising regulation in question (p. 570). In *Edenfeld v. Fane* (1993), the Court further defined the requirements of the third factor. Since *Edenfeld*, the Court seemed to apply a stringent version of the third factor in cases like *Coors Brewing Co.* (1995), *44 Liquormart* (1996) and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting Ass'n* (1999). However, in another recent case, *Florida Bar v. Went For It, Inc.* (1995), the Court applied a looser version that seemed to veer from the mandate in *Edenfeld*.

In *Edenfeld*, the Supreme Court struck down a Florida regulation that prohibited in-person solicitations by state-licensed certified public accountants ("CPAs"). In an opinion written by Justice Kennedy, the Court said the Florida ban was unconstitutional under the third *Central Hudson* factor because there was no proof that the regulation advanced the state's interest in preventing fraud and overreaching by CPAs. Writing for the *Edenfeld* Court, Justice Kennedy said that the third factor, which he called the "penultimate prong of the *Central Hudson* test," required the government to demonstrate that its regulation advanced the asserted regulatory interest in a "direct and material way" (p. 1800). He explained: "This burden is not satisfied by mere speculation or conjecture; rather, a governmental body seeking to sustain a restriction on commercial speech must demonstrate that the harms are real and that its restrictions will in fact alleviate them to a material degree" (p. 1800).

In *Coors Brewing Co.*, decided in 1995, the Court unanimously struck down a federal law that prohibited alcohol content percentage information in beer labeling. The government argued that the ban was needed to keep beer manufacturers from competing on the basis of alcohol strength. The government argued that so-called "strength-war marketing" would lead to increased consumption of high-alcohol beer and harmful secondary effects like increased rates of alcoholism. The *Coors Brewing Co.* Court accepted the government's asserted interest as sufficiently substantial, but nonetheless concluded that the regulation did not fail the third factor two reasons. First, the Court said that the ban was part of an "irrational" scheme that forbade alcohol content information in beer labeling but allowed it – and even mandated it – in wine and liquor labeling and advertising. Second, the Court said that the government had presented no evidence that removal of the ban would lead to "strength war" marketing (pp. 487-90). Thus, the Court concluded the ban did not directly advance the asserted interest in curbing harms associated with excessive consumption of alcohol.

In *44 Liquormart*, decided in 1996, the Court struck down a Rhode Island state ban on retail price advertising for liquor. Rhode Island asserted a regulatory interest in promoting temperance, and argued that liquor price advertising would lead to price competition among retailers, lower liquor prices, and, ultimately, increased alcohol consumption. In the principal opinion, written by Justice Stevens, the Court accepted the state's regulatory interest as sufficiently substantial, but said Rhode Island had failed to present any evidence that the ban had been effective in curbing overall liquor consumption (pp. 505-506, 508). Indeed, Justice Stevens pointed out, the evidence in the record suggested the contrary and showed that liquor consumption rates in Rhode Island actually had been higher *with* the ban than in states that did not ban liquor price advertising.

In *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*, decided in 1999, the Court struck down part of a federal regulation that banned broadcast advertising for casino gambling. The Court held that the ban could not be constitutionally applied to broadcast licensees that were located in states that had legalized gambling. The

Court found that the government had a sufficiently substantial regulatory interest in reducing demand for gambling and curbing associated social harms from excess gambling.

However, writing for the *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* Court, Justice Stevens said that the broadcast advertising ban failed the third *Central Hudson* factor because it was too "pierced with exemptions and inconsistencies" to directly advance the government's regulatory goal (p. 190). For instance, Justice Stevens pointed out, the ban did not apply to casinos operated by Native Americans or non-profit organizations, or to state-run lotteries. In addition, Justice Stevens said the government had not proven a sufficient causal connection between advertising and the harmful effects of gambling, although the Court's decision did not turn on that factor. Justice Stevens said it was unnecessary to determine whether the lack of evidence was fatal for the government's case under the third factor because the regulatory scheme was too irrational to be salvaged.

Since 1993, the Court has only upheld one challenged restriction on advertising, and it came in a lawyer solicitation case. In *Went For It*, decided in 1995, the Court split 5-4 and narrowly upheld a Florida state restriction on targeted, direct-mail solicitations by lawyers to accident victims within 30 days of their accidents. Florida argued that the ban was needed to protect the privacy of accident victims and the reputations of lawyers. The Court found both of these interests to be sufficiently substantial under the second *Central Hudson* factor.

Under the third *Central Hudson* factor, the *Went For It* Court accepted Florida's summaries of empirical studies of lawyer advertising as sufficient evidence that the 30-day ban directly advanced the asserted regulatory goals. For example, in one reported survey of Florida adults, more than half of the respondents agreed with a survey statement that contacting accident victims would be an invasion of privacy. In a reported survey of accident victims in Florida, approximately 25% of the respondents said they had received lawyer solicitations and said these solicitations invaded their privacy and lowered their opinions or lawyers.

Justice O'Connor, who penned the majority opinion in *Went For It*, said that Florida's summaries were sufficient to prove direct advancement and that the Court did not need to review the actual studies. She found it persuasive that the Florida's key study had been commissioned by a "nationally renowned consulting firm" and said that in prior speech restriction cases, the Court had allowed the parties to refer to studies without proving their methodological soundness (pp. 628-629). She said that empirical data in speech cases did not to be presented with a "surfeit of background information" to be given weight (pp. 628-629). In a sharp dissent, Justice Kennedy harshly chastised the majority for not demanding better proof from Florida before upholding the 30-day solicitation ban and said that the Court had no way of verifying such things as sample size, statistical universe, or survey methodology of the studies upon which Florida had relied (pp. 640-641).

After the *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* decision, it seemed clear that the Court would not tolerate legislative irrationality under the third *Central Hudson* factor and would strike down a regulation of protected commercial speech on that ground alone. Otherwise, the Court seemed to be demanding evidence that a regulation of protected commercial speech was efficacious in meeting the asserted regulatory goal. However, as the *Went For It* case indicates, the Court remained deeply divided on the quantity and quality of the evidence needed to meet the burden of proving direct advancement.

Fourth Central Hudson Factor: The "Narrowly-tailored" Requirement

The fourth step in the *Central Hudson* analysis examines whether a regulation of commercial speech is "more extensive than ... necessary" to achieve the asserted regulatory interest (*Central Hudson* 1980, p. 566). On this factor, the *Central Hudson* Court said that the "regulatory technique may extend only as far as the interest it serves" (p. 566). In addition, the Court said in that case that complete bans on commercial speech were particularly suspect under the First Amendment and should be reviewed with "special care," especially when government was trying to moderate consumer behavior by suppressing information (p. 566 n.9). In 1993, discussing the fourth factor, the *Edenfield* Court echoed this policy and stated that "prophylactic" bans on commercial speech violated important First Amendment policy aimed at facilitating broad public access to "complete and accurate commercial information" (p. 1798).

The *Central Hudson* Court had not really decided the level of rigor with which the fourth factor should be applied when it created the four-step analysis in 1980. However, in 1989, in *Board of Trustees v. Fox*, the Court took the opportunity to more fully define the fourth factor. In *Fox*, the Court held that to be constitutional under the fourth factor, a regulation of protected commercial speech had to be "'narrowly tailored' to serve a significant government interest" (pp. 477-478, 480). The Court was careful to point out though that government did not have to utilize the least restrictive means. Writing for the *Fox* Court, Justice Scalia said the *Central*

Hudson analysis merely required a "reasonable" fit -- but not a perfect one – between the asserted regulatory goals and the legislation (p. 480). "Within those bounds," he wrote, "we leave it to governmental decisionmakers to judge what manner of regulation may be best employed" (p. 480).

Arguably, the *Fox* Court, weakened the fourth *Central Hudson* factor, as commentators have pointed out (see, e.g., Langvardt 2000, p. 610). The Court could have required that government utilize the least speech-restrictive regulatory means, but clearly rejected that more stringent approach. However, in recent commercial speech cases, the Court significantly tightened the fourth factor by requiring government to demonstrate that direct regulation of *conduct* as opposed to speech would not be effective in meeting asserted regulatory goals. As pointed out by Justice Thomas in his concurrence in *44 Liquormart* (1996, p. 528 n.9), this made it more difficult for the government to demonstrate narrow tailoring under the fourth factor.

For instance, in the *Coors Brewing Co.* case already mentioned above, the Court said that the federal ban on alcohol content percentages in beer labeling was not narrowly tailored because the government had more direct means to curb "strength war" marketing than restricting speech. For instance, the Court said, the government could impose limits on beer alcohol content. Similarly, in the *44 Liquormart* case also discussed above, a plurality of the Court held that the state ban on retail liquor price advertising was not sufficiently narrow because Rhode Island had more direct means available to curb liquor consumption than banning advertising. In the principal opinion in *44 Liquormart*, Justice Stevens said it was "perfectly obvious" that Rhode Island could simply enact minimum price levels, impose taxes on liquor sales, or set per-customer purchase limits, for instance (p. 507). Likewise, the *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* Court said the ban on broadcast casino gambling advertising was too broad because government could directly regulate casino gambling with betting limits, for instance, to more directly curb the problems associated with excessive gambling.

After the *Coors Brewing Co.*, *44 Liquormart*, and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* decisions, government had to prove narrow tailoring by demonstrating that less speech-restrictive means would not be effective in meeting legislative goals. As Justice Thomas said in 1996 in his concurrence in *44 Liquormart*: "[I]t would seem that directly banning a product (or rationing it, taxing it, controlling its price, or otherwise restricting its sale in specific ways) would virtually always be at least as effective in discouraging consumption as merely restricting advertising … and thus all restrictions [aimed at dampening demand by legal users] would fail the fourth [factor]" (pp. 524-525).

"Vice" Advertising Under the First Amendment

In two cases decided in 1986 and 1993, the Supreme Court had created the impression that government power to ban a so-called "vice" product or activity like gambling included the "lesser" power to ban advertising about that product or activity. However, that approach was largely abandoned by the Court in *Coors Brewing Co.*, *44 Liquormart*, and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*.

In *Posadas de Puerto Rico Associates v. Tourism Co. of Puerto Rico* (1986), the Court upheld Puerto Rico's ban on casino gambling advertising aimed at the local Puerto Rican population. In an opinion penned by Justice Rehnquist – who had been the lone dissenter in the *Central Hudson* case, the Court assumed without evidence that the ban would directly advance the regulatory goal of reducing social ills related to compulsive gambling among the Puerto Rican population. In *United States v. Edge Broadcasting Co.* (1993), penned by Justice White, the Court upheld a federal broadcast ban on state lottery advertising carried by broadcast licensees located in non-lottery states and, in doing so, relied heavily on its *Posadas* rationale.

In both *Posadas* and *Edge Broadcasting*, the principal opinions suggested that because gambling was not a constitutional right and could be banned by government as a "vice" activity, advertising regulations should be viewed with greater deference to legislative goals than for other "non-vice" activities or products. For instance, in *Posadas*, Justice Rehnquist stated: "It would be a strange constitutional doctrine indeed which would concede to the legislature the authority to totally ban a product or activity, but deny … authority to forbid the stimulation or demand for the product or activity through advertising" (p. 346). This clearly echoed his dissent in *Central Hudson* in which he had concluded that greater deference should have been given to New York to ban promotional advertising by public utilities.

In *Posadas*, the Court split 5-4, and the dissenters were sharply critical of the majority's approach. For instance, Justice Stevens wrote in his dissenting opinion in *Posadas* that the Puerto Rican advertising ban was "blatantly" discriminatory and flatly unconstitutional (p. 359). Likewise, in his dissent in *Edge Broadcasting*,

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Justice Stevens called the federal broadcast ban "extremely paternalistic" and "patently unconstitutional" (pp. 437, 439). These comments by Justice Stevens in his *Posadas* and *Edge Broadcasting* dissents are important to note. As mentioned, he penned the principal opinion in *44 Liquormart* decided in 1996 in which a plurality of the Court rejected the *Posadas* rationale and, by implication, weakened the holding in *Edge Broadcasting*.

The dismantling of the *Posadas* rationale started in 1995. That year, in *Coors Brewing Co.*, the Court soundly rejected the idea that the *Central Hudson* analysis should be relaxed for government regulation of "vice" advertising for potentially harmful but nonetheless legal products and activities. Writing for the *Coors Brewing Co.* Court in 1995, Justice Thomas said that neither *Posadas* nor *Edge Broadcasting* compelled that result (p. 482). Likewise, in *44 Liquormart*, a plurality of the Court clearly rejected the so-called "greater-includes-the-lesser" rationale that had been utilized in *Posadas*. In the principal opinion in *44 Liquormart*, Justice Stevens – joined by Justices Kennedy, Thomas, and Ginsburg – said that legislatures should not have the "broad discretion to suppress truthful, nonmisleading information for paternalistic purposes that the *Posadas* majority was willing to tolerate" (1996, p. 510). In a concurring opinion in *44 Liquormart* that was joined by Justices Rehnquist, Souter, and Breyer, Justice O'Connor agreed with Justice Stevens that the deferential approach of the *Posadas* Court was invalid (pp. 531-532). Continuing the trend, in 1999, the Court in *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* reaffirmed its rejection of the *Posadas* approach. Writing for the majority in that case, Justice Stevens echoed his position from *44 Liquormart* and said that the "power to prohibit or to regulate particular *conduct* does not necessarily include the power to prohibit or regulate speech about that conduct" (p. 193).

In *Posadas* and *Edge Broadcasting*, the Court arguably utilized its most deferential versions of the *Central Hudson* analysis to date. Indeed, one commentator called the *Posadas* decision the "quintessential example of *Central Hudson* gone awry" (Troy 1999, p. 132). Hoefges and Rivera-Sanchez (2000) concluded that after *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*, advertising restrictions on "vice" products and activities would be subjected to the same level of scrutiny under the *Central Hudson* analysis and that the "vice" distinction retained little if any First Amendment significance in the context of lawful adult consumption. However, the Court had not addressed the evidentiary issue in the context of tobacco advertising restrictions nor had the Court utilized the *Central Hudson* analysis in a case involving regulations of harmful product advertising based on a regulatory goal of protecting minors. Thus, the question remained how the Court how – and if – the Court would utilize the *Central Hudson* in such a case.

TOBACCO ADVERTISING: NATIONAL REGULATORY FRAMEWORK[1]

Tobacco advertising has been one of the most controversial public issues in the last several years, and recent data indicates that tobacco manufacturers have continued to promote their products heavily. For instance, according to the most recent figures reported to Congress by the Federal Trade Commission, cigarette manufacturers spent a total of $8.2 billion in the U.S. in 1999 on advertising and promotion (Federal Trade Commission 2001a). The Supreme Court had never directly ruled on the constitutionality of government restrictions on tobacco advertising until deciding *Lorillard Tobacco* in 2001. In that light, this section looks at the national regulatory framework for tobacco advertising to provide relevant context to the discussion of the *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion that follows. In striking down state tobacco advertising restrictions, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court relied in part on the presence of this national regulatory framework.

Federally-mandated Warnings in Tobacco Labeling and Advertising

Since 1965, the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act ("FCLAA") has required that all cigarettes sold or distributed in the U.S. to include warning labels on packaging and in advertising (15 U.S.C. § 1333). As a matter of important public policy, Congress intended for these federally-mandated warning labels to inform the public about "any adverse health effects" of smoking cigarettes (15 U.S.C. § 1331(1)). Currently, these now-familiar warnings include statements like and "SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy" and "SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risk to Your Health."

Under the FCLAA, the warnings must be "conspicuous" and conform to certain size and format requirements that are specified in the act (15 U.S.C. § 1333(b)). In addition, the act requires that cigarette manufacturers and importers to have their labeling plans approved by the FTC, and the FTC has published

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[1] **The 1998 Master Settlement Agreement between 46 state attorneys general and various tobacco manufacturers is beyond the scope of this paper and was not relied upon by the Supreme Court in its holdings in *Lorillard Tobacco*.**

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compliance guidelines (Federal Trade Commission 2002). In 1986, Congress passed the Comprehensive Smokeless Tobacco Health Education Act ("Smokeless Tobacco Act"), which contains similar package and advertising labeling requirements for smokeless tobacco products except that outdoor advertising is excluded from the requirements (70 U.S.C. § 4402).

The FCLAA also contains federal pre-emption provisions that prohibit states from enacting their own health warning requirements for cigarette packaging (15 U.S.C. § 1334(a)) or for "advertising or promotion" of cigarette products covered by the FCLAA (15 U.S. C. § 1334(b)). As a matter of public policy, Congress intended for these pre-emption provisions to protect "commerce and the national economy" from being "impeded by diverse, nonuniform, and confusing cigarette labeling and advertising regulations" (15 U.S.C. § 1331(2)). Likewise, the Smokeless Tobacco Act pre-empts states from enacting their own package or labeling requirements for smokeless tobacco except in outdoor advertising. While Congress has specifically allowed the states to require health warnings in billboard advertising for smokeless tobacco products, this may be a relatively meaningless concession at this point. According to FTC data, the five major U.S. smokeless tobacco manufacturers spent $170.2 million on advertising and promotion in 1999, but less than one percent of that total went to billboard advertising (Federal Trade Commission 2001b).

Tobacco Advertising Ban in Federally-regulated Electronic Media

In addition to requiring health warnings, since 1971, the FCLAA has banned advertising for "cigarettes and little cigars" on electronic media licensed and regulated by the Federal Communications Commission (Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, 15 U.S.C. § 1335). In 1986, Congress added smokeless tobacco to the ban (Comprehensive Smokeless Tobacco Health and Education Act, 70 U.S.C. § 4402). To date, there is no legislation that places the Internet under the broad regulatory jurisdiction of the FCC although the Supreme Court has strongly suggested that the Internet cannot be constitutionally regulated like broadcast and other FCC-licensed media (see *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union* 1997).

After the original ban became effective in 1971, broadcasters filed a First Amendment challenge in federal court and ultimately lost on appeal before the U.S. Court of Appeals, D.C. Circuit (*Capital Broadcasting Co. v. Mitchell* 1971). In 1972, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case and effectively allowed the ban to

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stand (*Capital Broadcasting Co. v. Mitchell*). It is important to note that this occurred some four years before the Court had decided *Virginia Board* in 1976 and assimilated advertising into the First Amendment, and some eight years before the Court had created the *Central Hudson* analysis in 1980.

How the Supreme Court would currently decide the constitutional fate of the ban on tobacco advertising on regulated electronic media is an issue that merits additional policy research. Since the Court allowed the ban to stand in 1972, no further constitutional challenges to the ban have been decided by the courts. However, one commentator recently concluded that the broadcast ban is probably unconstitutional under the recently invigorated *Central Hudson* analysis, but suggested that courts would be reluctant to overturn such a "well-established" regulation in the context of regulated electronic media (Redish 1996, pp. 633-634).

Food and Drug Administration Regulations

In 1996, President Bill Clinton signed sweeping tobacco regulations that had been enacted by the Food and Drug Administration and included substantial restrictions on tobacco advertising (61 Fed. Reg. 44395, et seq., 1996). The FDA claimed that the advertising restrictions were necessary to curb the appeal of cigarettes and smokeless tobacco products among minors and reduce demand and illegal consumption among this population segment (61 Fed. Reg. 1996, pp. 44465, 44475). The regulations were challenged in federal court on First Amendment and other grounds. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the entire regulatory scheme on grounds that the FDA did not have statutory authority to regulate cigarettes and smokeless tobacco under the Food Drug and Cosmetic Act, but did not reach the First Amendment issues (*Food & Drug Administration v. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.* 2000).

The FDA regulations would have limited tobacco advertising in print media to black text on a white background except for "adult publications," which had been defined as having less than 2 million readers under the age of 18 or less than 15% of their total readership under that age (21 C.F.R. § 897.32(a)(2)). In addition, the regulations would have banned cigarette and smokeless tobacco advertising on billboards within 1,000 feet of schools and public playgrounds, and would have limited all other outdoor cigarette and smokeless tobacco advertising to black text on a white background (21 C.F.R. §§ 897.30(b), 897.32(a)). The regulations would have limited retail point-of-sale ("POS") advertising for cigarettes and smokeless tobacco to black text on a white background except in "adult establishments" that did not allow anyone under 18 years old to enter and could not be viewed from outside the establishment (21 C.F.R. §§ 897.16(c) & 897.32(a), (c), (g)).

In supporting documentation for the proposed regulations, FDA argued that the advertising regulations would pass muster under the third *Central Hudson* factor. In particular, the FDA said that its review of existing research indicated that "expert opinion, surveys and studies provide sufficient support for the inference that advertising does play a material role in children's tobacco use" (61 Fed. Reg., p. 44420). The supporting documentation is remarkable for its extensive review of literature on advertising and tobacco use, and, as will be discussed, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court relied on the FDA's documentation in concluding that there is some degree of causal connection between advertising and tobacco use by minors.

In its supporting documentation, the FDA admitted there was no single study it could find that conclusively established a direct causal connection between advertising and the decision by minors to begin using tobacco. However, the FDA asserted that the "cumulative effect" of the studies it reviewed was that "young people are aware of, respond favorably to, and are influenced by cigarette advertising" and that advertising is a "substantial, contributing, and ... material factor" in underage use of tobacco (61 Fed. Reg., pp. 44475, 44495). For instance, FDA relied on studies that suggested that the use color and imagery in advertising increased such factors as attention and recall and relied heavily on the Elaboration Likelihood Model that theorizes that children are particularly susceptible to such peripheral cues as imagery in advertising (61 Fed. Reg., p. 44467-44468).

As reviewed by Hoefges (1997), these and other studies were used collectively by the FDA to support its position that limiting tobacco advertising would be effective in curbing underage tobacco usage. Ultimately, Hoefges concluded that the regulations would likely be held unconstitutional under the *Central Hudson* analysis although that issue never reached the Supreme Court. In 2001, in *Lorillard Tobacco,* however, the Supreme Court struck down state outdoor and POS tobacco advertising regulations that were in part modeled on the FDA regulations and based on the supporting documentation that the FDA had developed. In that case, the Supreme Court for the first time utilized the *Central Hudson* analysis to test and strike down restrictions of tobacco advertising on First Amendment grounds even though the state had a substantial and even compelling regulatory interest in protecting minors.

SUPREME COURT OPINION: *LORILLARD TOBACCO CO. V. REILLY* (2001)

In *Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* (2001), the Supreme Court struck down Massachusetts state regulations that limited outdoor and retail POS tobacco advertising. The regulations prohibited as an "unfair act or practice" any "outdoor advertising" for cigarettes, smokeless tobacco and cigars located within a 1,000-foot radius of a school or playground (Code of Mass. Reg., 940, §§ 21.04 and 21.06). "Outdoor advertising" included in-stadium and in-store signs visible from outside these facilities. The regulations also required POS advertising to be placed five-feet or higher in retail operations that allowed children and were covered by the 1,000-foot rule.

A coalition of tobacco manufacturers and retailers that included the top four U.S. cigarette manufacturers (Philip Morris Cos. Inc., R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Holdings Inc., Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co., and Lorillard Tobacco Co.) challenged the advertising regulations in Massachusetts federal district court. The challengers argued that the state's cigarette advertising regulations were prohibited by the pre-emption provisions in the FCLAA. They also argued that all of the advertising regulations were unconstitutional under the First Amendment. In two separate opinions, the federal district court rejected the pre-emption argument (*Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* 1999) and the First Amendment claims, except for finding the five-foot height rule unconstitutional under the *Central Hudson* analysis (*Lorillard Tobacco Co. V. Reilly* 2000a).

On appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals, First Circuit, affirmed the district court ruling on the pre-emption issue. On that count, the appeals court concluded that the cigarette advertising restrictions governed "location" of advertising – similar to a zoning regulation – and thus did not interfere with the labeling and advertising scheme set up by Congress in the FCLAA (*Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* 2000b, p. 41). On the First Amendment issue, the appeals court applied the *Central Hudson* analysis and upheld all of the tobacco regulations, including the five-foot height rule for POS advertising that had troubled the district court below (p.

53). The tobacco parties appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reversed in 2001 in a splintered opinion penned by Justice O'Connor.

Pre-Emption Issue

On the pre-emption issue, a divided Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that the FCLAA precluded Massachusetts from regulating outdoor and POS cigarette advertising (*Lorillard Tobacco* 2001, p. 2419). For the Court, Justice O'Connor said that Congress had opted for exclusive legislative control over cigarette advertising by enacting the FCLAA, and that Massachusetts had improperly targeted cigarette advertising in its regulations. Justice O'Connor emphasized that the Court's pre-emption ruling would not apply to general zoning regulations for billboards or to laws that prohibited conduct like underage possession or sales of cigarettes (pp. 2419, 2420).

As evidenced by the vote, the justices were sharply divided on the pre-emption issue. Writing for the dissenters in *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice Stevens said that to him, it was not clear that Congress had intended to keep states from regulating the locations of tobacco billboards. Instead, he said, Massachusetts and other states should be permitted to use their "traditional zoning authority" to protect children from cigarette advertising (pp. 2444-2445). However, Justice Stevens only mustered three additional votes on this point – Justices Ginsburg, Breyer and Souter – and, that was not enough to form a majority on that point.

Application of the Central Hudson Analysis

Because the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court used federal pre-emption grounds to strike down the cigarette advertising restrictions, the Court found it unnecessary to reach the tobacco parties' First Amendment challenge to those restrictions. However, the pre-emption ruling did not apply to the advertising restrictions for cigars and smokeless tobacco. As to those restrictions, the Court turned to the First Amendment claims and utilized the commercial speech doctrine.

The tobacco parties urged the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court to abandon the *Central Hudson* analysis in favor of strict constitutional scrutiny, which would have required that the regulations serve a *compelling* government interest and employ the least speech-restrictive means. However, the Court refused. Writing for the *Lorillard Tobacco* majority, Justice O'Connor said that the *Central Hudson* analysis was "adequate" to decide the case and there was not need to abandon precedent (p. 2421). In doing so, the Court reaffirmed the distinct constitutional treatment of commercial speech and the *Central Hudson* analysis as the appropriate constitutional test for advertising regulations (p. 2421).

Not surprisingly, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court found no issues to discuss under the first two *Central Hudson* factors. For purposes of summary judgment, Massachusetts had conceded that the regulations banned protected commercial speech under the first factor, and the tobacco parties had conceded that the state had a sufficiently substantial regulatory interest in reducing tobacco use by minors under the second factor (p. 2423). As with most of the Court's commercial speech decisions, the *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion turned on the application of the critical third and fourth factors to the 1,000-foot rule for outdoor advertising and the five-foot height restrictions for in-store POS advertising for smokeless tobacco and cigars.

Application of the Third Central Hudson Factor: Direct-advancement

In applying the third *Central Hudson* factor in *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice O'Connor said that *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* required Massachusetts to demonstrate that its regulations would "directly and materially" advance its asserted government interest (p. 2423). She also reiterated that *Edenfeld* required more than "mere speculation or conjecture" to prove direct advancement, and that Massachusetts had to "'demonstrate that the harms it recites are real and that its restrictions will in fact alleviate them to a material degree'" (p. 2422). However, on the issue of evidentiary sufficiency, Justice O'Connor invoked her liberal evidentiary approach from *Went For It* and said that Massachusetts did not have to prove the validity of empirical studies it had cited.

On the issue of direct advancement, the tobacco parties argued that Massachusetts had not met its burden of proof because the state had no documented a "causal link" between advertising and underage use of smokeless tobacco and cigars and had not even shown that minors were using these products to any significant degree (*Lorillard Tobacco* 2001, pp. 2422-2423). Voting 5-4, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court held that Massachusetts had met its burden under the third *Central Hudson* factor on the 1,000-foot rule for outdoor advertising (pp. 2423-2425).

Writing for the majority, Justice O'Connor said that Massachusetts had cited a sufficient number of studies that seemed to establish a relationship between advertising and underage tobacco use including the extensive record developed by the FDA in its failed attempt to regulate tobacco advertising in 1996. Justice O'Connor also noted that in previous cases, the Court had recognized the theory that advertising can stimulate consumer demand and that "suppressed advertising" could have the "opposite effect" (pp. 2423). The majority was thus satisfied that the state sufficiently established "direct advancement" as to the outdoor restrictions for purposes of summary judgment. As Justice O'Connor stated, "we disagree with [the tobacco parties] that there is no evidence that preventing targeted campaigns and limiting youth exposure to advertising will decrease underage use of smokeless tobacco and cigars" (p. 2425).

On the other hand, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court ruled 6-3 that the five-foot height rule for POS smokeless tobacco and cigar advertising failed the third *Central Hudson* requirement and did not directly advance the state's goal in curbing underage use of these products. Still writing for the majority, Justice O'Connor said the five-foot height rule were obviously ineffective because many children are taller than five feet and those that are not, certainly can look up (p. 2428). Justice O'Connor pointed out that *Edenfield* required more than "ineffective or remote support for the government's purpose" and that *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting* required more than just a mere chance that a regulation would be effective. She concluded that the height restrictions failed to pass muster under these standards.

Application of Fourth Central Hudson Factor: Narrow-tailoring

Turning to the fourth *Central Hudson* factor, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court ruled 5-4 that the outdoor and POS regulations were too broad to survive constitutional scrutiny (p. 2425). Writing for the Court, Justice O'Connor said that Massachusetts had not considered the effective impact of the 1,000-foot rule in metropolitan areas like Boston, where high concentrations of schools and playgrounds would effectively ban tobacco billboards. She also said the regulations were too broad because they banned tobacco billboards of all sizes and types and did not target high visibility billboards or those with youth-oriented appeals (p. 2426).

Justice O'Connor said that Massachusetts could not broadly suppress speech directed to adults in order to protect children (*Lorillard Tobacco* 2001, pp. 2426-2427). On this point, she relied on *Reno v. American*

Civil Liberties Union (1997), a previous decision in which the Court struck down federal restrictions on non-obscene sexual material on the Internet despite a strong government interest in preventing access by minors. The *Reno* Court concluded that non-obscene sexual material was protected speech that adults had a First Amendment right to access on the Internet. Similarly, in *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice O'Connor said that tobacco manufacturers and retailers had a First Amendment right to communicate with adults about their products, and that adults had a First Amendment right to receive these communications. She said that the Massachusetts regulations would unfairly quash the only means that some retailers – like small, independent storeowners – had to communicate with passing customers (*Lorillard Tobacco* 2001, p. 2428).

In dissenting opinions written by Justices Souter and Stevens, the latter joined by Justices Ginsburg and Breyer, the dissenters concluded that more evidence and data were needed to make a decision on the outdoor restrictions under the fourth *Central Hudson* factor. For example, Justice Stevens said he was "concerned" that the outdoor restrictions would harm the ability of tobacco manufacturers to communicate lawfully with adult customers and but there was no evidence on the precise numbers or percentages of billboards that would be banned in metropolitan areas, no evidence on the impact of the ban in non-metro areas, no qualitative descriptions of the areas in which billboards would be banned, and no information on potential advertising alternatives for tobacco manufacturers and retailers (p. 2447).

Concurrence of Justice Kennedy

In a separate concurrence that was joined by Justice Scalia, Justice Kennedy disagreed with the *Lorillard Tobacco* majority that the outdoor regulations passed muster under the controversial third *Central Hudson* factor ("direct advancement"). In addition, he chided the majority for even ruling on the third factor at all and said the ruling was unnecessary. He pointed out that the regulations clearly failed the fourth factor ("narrowly tailored") and were unconstitutional on that ground alone (p. 2431).

In addition, Justice Kennedy raised his concern about the *Central Hudson* analysis providing inadequate protection for truthful, non-misleading commercial speech. However, he agreed with Justice O'Connor that the *Lorillard Tobacco* case did not present the appropriate opportunity to abandon such well-established precedent

(p. 2431). Only Justice Thomas was willing to recommend scrapping the *Central Hudson* analysis in the case in favor of strict constitutional scrutiny.

Concurrence of Justice Thomas

In his concurring opinion in *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice Thomas agreed with the majority that the cigarette advertising restrictions were pre-empted by the FCLAA and that the other regulations failed intermediate scrutiny under the *Central Hudson* analysis. However, he said that the Court should have applied strict scrutiny for two reasons (p. 2431). First, he said it was illogical to treat commercial speech differently than non-commercial speech under the First Amendment. He doubted it was possible to draw a "coherent distinction" between "commercial" and "non-commercial" speech for First Amendment purposes especially dealing with a politically charged issue like tobacco sales and marketing (p. 2432).

Secondly, Justice Thomas said that the Massachusetts regulations were content-based and discriminated against non-misleading tobacco adverting, and thus should have been strictly scrutinized. On this point, he stated: "I continue to believe that when the government seeks to restrict truthful speech in order to suppress the ideas it conveys, strict scrutiny is appropriate whether or not the speech in question may be characterized as 'commercial'" (p. 2431). Justice Thomas said the only constitutionally acceptable rationale for regulating advertising would be to prevent "commercial harms" such as consumer-related risks associated with deceptive or misleading advertising (pp. 2432-2433).

Applying strict scrutiny, Justice Thomas said that the state likely had a sufficiently compelling interest in reducing underage use of tobacco, but he questioned whether the regulations were an effective means of advancing that interest (p. 2436). Regardless, he said, the regulations were overly broad and unconstitutional for that reason alone (pp. 2437-2438). He said that the state should have tried direct means of curbing underage tobacco use like better enforcement of laws against selling tobacco to minors and enactment of laws against underage possession and use of tobacco products.

Justice Thomas said that allowing the Massachusetts regulations to stand would create the proverbial "slippery slope" (pp. 2438-2439). He pointed out that the state's policy decision to ban tobacco advertising to protect children's health could just as easily be applied to other potentially unhealthy products like high-calorie

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high-fat foods, and alcohol. Justice Thomas said that Massachusetts was seeking a "vice" exception to the First Amendment that would more liberally allow states to regulate advertising for legal but potentially harmful products such as tobacco and alcohol. However, he pointed out that the Court had repeatedly rejected that rationale as a means of salvaging otherwise unconstitutional restrictions on protected advertising in previous cases.

Of those justices who write opinions in *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice Thomas spoke the most strongly about the important historical role of the First Amendment as the protector of objectionable and even harmful expression. And, in a particularly remarkable passage, he applied that notion to tobacco advertising. He wrote:

> No legislature has ever sought to restrict speech about an activity it regarded as harmless and inoffensive. Calls for limits on expression always are made when the specter of some threatened harm is looming. The identity of the harm may vary. People will be inspired by totalitarian dogmas and subvert the Republic. They will be inflamed by racial demagoguery and embrace hatred and bigotry. Or they will be enticed by cigarette advertisements and choose to smoke, risking disease. It is therefore no answer for the State to say that the makers of cigarettes are doing harm: perhaps they are. But in that respect they are no different from the purveyors of other harmful products, or the advocates of harmful ideas. When the State seeks to silence them, they are all entitled to the protection of the First Amendment (p. 2440).

IMPACT OF *LORILLARD TOBACCO* IN THE LOWER COURTS

Soon after the Court decided the *Lorillard Tobacco* case in 2001, lower courts began to apply its principles. In doing so, two federal courts upheld general billboard ordinances (*Long Island Board of Realtors, Inc. v. Village of Massapequa Park* 2002; *Infinity Outdoor, Inc. v. City of New York* 2001). In both cases, the courts acknowledged the *Lorillard Tobacco* decision and found that the ordinances in question directly advanced sufficiently substantial interests like traffic safety and aesthetics in a reasonable manner without targeting specific commercial content. However, in other cases, lower courts relied on *Lorillard Tobacco* to strike down regulations on alcohol or tobacco advertising on either federal pre-emption or First Amendment grounds, much like the majority approach in *Lorillard Tobacco*.

Federal Appeals Courts

Within a month after the Supreme Court decided *Lorillard Tobacco*, the U.S. Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, decided *Utah Licensed Beverage Association v. Leavitt* (2001) and struck down state regulations that

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banned most liquor advertising in Utah. Under the first *Central Hudson* factor, the court said the regulations banned truthful, non-misleading speech and had to be tested under the three remaining factors (p. 1069). Under the second factor, the court found that the state had a sufficiently substantial regulatory interest in reducing social ills related to alcohol use like drunk driving and underage alcohol consumption (p. 1069-1070).

However, the Tenth Circuit ruled that Utah's regulations were irrational and thus unconstitutional under the third *Central Hudson* factor because they banned advertising for one form of alcohol (liquor) and not others (beer and wine). The court relied on *Lorillard Tobacco, Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*, and *44 Liquormart* in finding that Utah had not carefully weighed the impact of a near-total ban on speech and had not demonstrated that "nonspeech regulations" would be ineffective in meeting the state's goals (p. 1075).

In another case, *Jones v. Vilsack* (2001), the Eighth Circuit relied on *Lorillard Tobacco* and found that key provisions of the Iowa Tobacco Use Prevention and Control Act ("Iowa Control Act") were preempted by the FCLAA. The Control Act prohibited retailers and wholesalers from giving away tobacco products and providing any "free articles, products, commodities, gifts, or concessions" in connection with any tobacco purchases (Iowa Code § 142A.6(6)). The appeals court said that the FCLAA prevented states from regulating cigarette "advertising or promotion," and that the activities prohibited by Iowa fell squarely within the plain meaning of the term "promotion" (*Jones v. Vilsack* 2001, p. 1037). The court pointed out that the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court had stated that the terms "advertising or promotion" in the FCLAA's pre-emption clause had to be given their "plain and ordinary" meanings (p. 1035). Because the pre-emption ruling only applied to cigarettes, the appeals court sent the case back to the trial court to determine if the regulations violated the First Amendment as to other tobacco products.

Federal District Courts

In *Eller Media Company v. City of Cleveland* (2001), an Ohio federal district court struck down a Cleveland city ordinance that prohibited outdoor alcohol advertising. The ordinance in question criminalized alcoholic beverage advertising in "publicly visible locations" but contained exemptions for some industrial areas, temporary signage, and billboards only visible from certain interstates (City of Cleveland Ordinance 989-

97). The court found that the ordinance would operate to ban most outdoor alcohol advertising in Cleveland's most densely populated areas (p. 812).

As in *Lorillard Tobacco*, the *Eller Media* decision turned on the application of the third and fourth *Central Hudson* factors. The court had concluded that the ordinance banned protected commercial speech under the first factor and that the city had a sufficiently substantial regulatory interest in curbing illegal underage drinking under the second factor. Thus, the critical issues were whether the ordinance advanced the asserted governmental interest under the third factor and whether the ordinance was sufficiently narrow in scope under the fourth factor (*Eller Media* 2001, pp. 810-812).

Under the third factor, the *Eller Media* court used Justice O'Connor's liberal approach from *Lorillard Tobacco* and concluded that Cleveland cited enough studies to find a sufficient connection between advertising and underage alcohol consumption for purposes of the *Central Hudson* analysis (p. 811). However, under the fourth factor, the court found the ordinance overly broad because it operated as an effective ban much like the Massachusetts struck down in *Lorillard Tobacco*. In addition, the court said that the ordinance was overly broad because it banned all alcohol advertising and not just promotional strategies that studies had shown were particularly appealing to minors (p. 811-812). Sounding much like the *Lorillard Tobacco* majority, the *Eller Media* court said the First Amendment would not allow Cleveland to "unduly impinge" on the ability of manufacturers and retailers to advertise lawful alcoholic products to adults or the ability of adults to receive these communications (p. 811-812).

Other Cases

The *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion has had an impact in other cases as well. For instance, a federal district court recently ruled that New York City could not restrict outdoor tobacco advertising within 1,000 feet of playgrounds, schools, day care centers, and youth centers (American Association of Advertising Agencies 2001). In addition, since the *Loriliard Tobacco* decision was handed down, the city of Los Angeles rescinded a ban on outdoor alcohol advertising, and Chicago was considering rescinding its ban on outdoor alcohol and tobacco advertising (Association of National Advertisers 2001). The Chicago ban had been upheld by the U.S.

Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, in *Federation of Advertising Industry Representatives, Inc. v. City of Chicago* in 1999, but that was before the Supreme Court had issued its 2001 ruling in *Lorillard Tobacco*.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion is significant on a number of points. It has legal and historical significance as the first case in which the U.S. Supreme Court decided the constitutionality of an advertising restriction aimed at protecting children, and the first time that the Court directly decided the constitutionality of government restrictions on tobacco advertising. Further, the case is significant for stringently interpreting the federal pre-emption provisions of the FCLAA in a manner that considerably limits the legal capacity of states to regulate tobacco advertising. From a broader perspective, the *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion is important as a reaffirmation of the *Central Hudson* analysis as constitutional doctrine even though various justices have raised doubts about its continued validity.

Third Central Hudson Factor

Looking first at the third *Central Hudson* factor, after *Lorillard Tobacco*, it seems clear that government still needs to submit an evidentiary record to demonstrate "direct advancement." This approach follows the Court's earlier decisions in *Coors Brewing Co.*, *44 Liquormart*, and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*. In those cases, the Court abandoned the more deferential approach from *Posadas* and *Edge Broadcasting*, in which the Court had accepted the government's claims of "direct advancement" with little or no evidence.

To evaluate the sufficiency of the evidentiary record presented to establish "direct advancement" under the third factor, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court narrowly adopted Justice O'Connor's approach from *Went For It*. In other words, the Court seemingly will accept government summaries of empirical studies without the need to establish such things as methodological soundness as the *Went For It* dissenters would have demanded. Allowing government to present such summaries under the third factor presents an easier burden than requiring actual studies and results along with proof of methodological adequacy and soundness. This point may be tempered somewhat because of the posture in which the case arrived at the Court. The *Lorillard Tobacco* case was decided by the Court on appeal from summary judgment, which required the Court to view the evidence most favorably to the non-moving party – the state. Justice O'Connor pointed this out in the majority opinion in *Lorillard Tobacco* when she concluded that the state's regulatory scheme seemed to be based on more than "mere speculation and conjecture" (p. 2425).

In addition, it seems equally clear that the Court will not tolerate "irrational" regulatory schemes under the third *Central Hudson* factor. The Court had struck down irrational regulatory schemes both *Coors Brewing Co.* and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting.* Likewise, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court found the Massachusetts height restrictions irrational and thus fatally flawed on that count under the "direct advancement" requirement. Thus, government needs to present evidence of "direct advancement" and establish that its regulatory scheme is rational in order to satisfy the third *Central Hudson* factor.

Fourth Central Hudson Factor

Under the fourth *Central Hudson* factor, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court focused primarily on the broad sweep of the Massachusetts regulations and treated them as an effective ban on all outdoor tobacco advertising in the state's major metropolitan areas like Boston. In the majority opinion, Justice O'Connor seemed to suggest that regulations that more specifically targeted youth-oriented tobacco appeals in highly-visible outdoor advertising might have been considered sufficiently narrow under the fourth *Central Hudson* factor (see *Lorillard Tobacco* 2001, p. 2426). It bears mention here that Justice Thomas had made a similar point in the majority opinion he wrote for the *Coors Brewing Co.* Court in 1995. He suggested then that a regulation that targeted advertising appeals based on high alcohol content instead of banning alcohol percentages in beer labeling might have been sufficiently narrow under the fourth factor in that case (*Coors Brewing Co.* 1995, pp. 490-491). Thus, the issue of how the Court will deal with narrower, more specific advertising regulations than those considered in cases like *Coors Brewing Co.* and *Lorillard Tobacco* remain uncertain.

Also under the fourth factor, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court continued its trend of requiring government to seeking out more direct means accomplishing regulatory goals than restricting protected commercial speech. In other words, a regulation of protected commercial speech is unlikely to be considered "narrowly tailored" if there are direct regulatory means available that government has not tried. For instance, as discussed, the

Lorillard Tobacco Court suggested that Massachusetts had more direct regulatory means available to try and curb the use of tobacco products by minors instead of such indirect means as banning outdoor and POS advertising. The Court took a similar approach in striking down the regulations at issue in *Coors Brewing Co.*, *44 Liquormart*, and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*. The Court took a similar approach in its most recent commercial speech case, *Thompson v. Western States Medical Center* (2002), and struck down a federal ban on direct-to-consumer advertising by pharmacists for legal compounded prescription drugs. In *Thompson*, the Court said that the government could more directly regulate the manufacture and sale of compounded prescription drugs to alleviate regulatory concerns about widespread sale of drug combinations used for purposes not approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

It also is important to note that the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court was divided on the sufficiency of the evidence needed to decide whether the Massachusetts regulations were narrowly tailored or not under the that factor. As mentioned, Justices Breyer, Ginsburg, Souter, and Stevens wanted more and better evidence of the actual impact of the state regulations before deciding that issue. Thus, it appears that the current Court remains divided over the sufficiency of evidence needed to decide both direct advancement under the third factor and narrow tailoring under the fourth factor. Unless the Supreme Court abandons the *Central Hudson* analysis, these evidentiary issues will surely be revisited as litigants in commercial speech cases develop more sophisticated evidentiary records in support of their claims under both the third and fourth factors.

Rejection of "Vice" Advertising Exception under the First Amendment

The *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion also is significant for re-affirming the Court's rejection of the "great-includes-the-lesser" rationale from the *Posadas* and *Edge Broadcasting* cases. The power of government to ban a "vice" product or activity is not alone sufficient to justify otherwise unconstitutional regulations of advertising. As pointed out by Hoefges and Rivera-Sanchez (2000), in *Coors Brewing Co.*, *44 Liquormart*, and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*, the Court seemed to have virtually eliminated the "vice" category from its commercial speech jurisprudence to the extent that it ever was firmly implanted. After *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*, there was some question about whether the Court would take a different approach with tobacco advertising because of the substantial health risks associated with underage tobacco use. However, the

Lorillard Tobacco Court made it clear that even a compelling interest in protecting children would not allow government to overly burden the flow of lawful communication to adults about tobacco products. The current Court seems willing to apply the *Central Hudson* analysis – when applicable – with equal rigor to all advertising for lawful products, including so-called "vice" products and activities like tobacco, alcohol, and gambling.

Continued Validity of the Central Hudson Analysis

Finally, it is important to point out that the Court remains uneasy with the *Central Hudson* analysis as the appropriate constitutional test for government regulations of commercial speech especially when government seeks to manipulate lawful consumer choices by controlling the flow of information. In *Lorillard Tobacco*, Justice O'Connor expressed her ambivalence over the continued validity of the *Central Hudson* analysis, as did Justice Stevens in his concurrence. Justice Thomas continued to be the lone justice who clearly favors scrapping the *Central Hudson* analysis in favor of strict scrutiny, which is the position he took in *44 Liquormart* and *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting*.

CONCLUSION

As this research has demonstrated, lower courts have just started to figure out how to apply the *Central Hudson* analysis following the *Lorillard Tobacco* opinion, and many issues remain unresolved. The Supreme Court remained divided on how to apply the *Central Hudson* analysis in commercial speech cases, especially when it comes to the sufficiency of evidence needed to establish "direct advancement" under the third factor and "narrow tailoring" under the fourth factor.

Despite this, however, the *Lorillard Tobacco* Court clearly continued a trend of providing strong First Amendment protection for non-misleading advertising including, now, tobacco advertising. In addition, the Court made it clear that the First Amendment will not allow government to substantially disrupt the flow of lawful commercial information to adults even when a compelling regulatory goal of protecting children from the harms of tobacco usage exists. The pragmatic effect for advertisers and marketers is that government has little constitutional leeway to broadly restrict non-misleading commercial communication about lawful products and services (see Troy 1999, p. 142). In short, the Court seems to be telling legislators to look seriously at more direct, narrow and efficacious means of solving serious social and political problems than banning protected commercial speech like advertising.

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Adv

Reactions, Perceptions and Evaluations of Local Television Advertising

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Abstract

Answers to three general research questions about viewers' reactions to local retail television advertising were sought in this study: 1) What reactions do viewers have to centrally processed and peripherally processed cues within local retail television advertising? 2) How do consumers evaluate the information they perceive as being contained in local retail television advertising? and 3) What information is reported as missing and worthy of inclusion in local retail television advertising?

A sample of local retail television commercials was shown to 18 subjects and qualitative data collected during in-depth, open-ended interviews.

As expected, both central and peripheral cues were noted to have influenced informants' Attitude toward the Ad (A_{ad}). However, more importantly, the dichotomy, previously reported in the literature, between centrally processed substantive information cues and executional peripheral cues was found to have more nuance than originally expected. In many cases, what was assumed to be a peripheral cue from the perspective of the advertiser became central to the message as perceived by the viewer.

The viewers' evaluations of the cues (both central and peripheral) were frequently tied to personal experiences and attitudes. These personal experiences and attitudes provided the context within which many informants formed impressions of the advertised retail business and its personnel.

Substantive information that would be centrally processed was most frequently missed by the informants. However, they reported wanting that information presented in interesting, novel and entertaining ways.

Details of the research design, results of the data analysis, implications of this study and directions for future research are presented.

Introduction

Previous research indicates that local television commercials are not perceived to be as informative nor as effective as national television commercials (Pasadeos, 1990; Reid and King, 1986). This study sought insights into this negative perception by seeking viewers' reactions to, and interpretations of, several local retail television commercials.

Using the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Petty and Cacioppo (1981) that posits a central and a peripheral route to persuasion as the theoretical framework, three general research questions guided this qualitative study:

1) What reactions do viewers have to centrally processed and peripherally processed cues within local retail television advertising?

2) How do consumers evaluate the information they perceive as being contained in local retail television advertising? and,

3) What information is reported as missing and worthy of inclusion in local retail television advertising?

For purposes of this study, local retail television advertising is defined as commercial messages produced by a local television station or cable television company for a retail business that primarily serves consumers within a limited geographical area (e.g., a county or a newspaper retail trade area). The advertising is intended for use primarily within the television station's or cable company's home Designated Market Area (DMA). National brand television advertising, in contrast, consists of commercial messages produced for a branded product that has large regional or national distribution. The advertising is intended for use in multiple DMA television markets, on television networks that are broadcast nationally (i.e., ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox), and/or cable networks that are distributed nationally (i.e., MTV, CNN, ESPN).

Literature Review

There is very little research in the literature that specifically deals with local television advertising. The research that does exist indicates that television advertising for national brands is perceived as having a greater information value and that national advertising is perceived to be more effective than local television advertising (Pasadeos, 1990; Reid and King, 1986). This perception persists even though there are indications that the substantive information content of national brand television advertising is relatively low (Stern and Resnik, 1991; Resnik and Stern, 1977).

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) of Petty and Cacioppo (1981) forms the theoretical basis for this study. In the ELM, persuasion is modeled as occurring through two routes: A central route in which purposeful attention is paid to the message arguments (substantive information elements of an ad) and a peripheral route in which the message recipient's attitudes are changed by factors surrounding the central message (peripheral cues).

Both the central message elements (substantive information) and peripheral cues have been shown to affect the formation of Attitude toward the Advertisement (A_{ad}) and Attitude toward the Brand (AB) by Lasky, Fox and Crask (1994) and Stewart and Furse (1986). Both A_{ad} and AB have also been shown to affect Purchase Intention by Lutz (1985) and Lord, Lee and Saur (1995).

In response to the paucity of research on local television advertising, the present study seeks a further understanding of the discrepancy between the perceived information value and effectiveness of national versus local television advertising. This understanding is sought by examining the reactions of consumers to local television commercials for sources of Attitude Toward the Ad. In essence, the study seeks to discover what types of information—centrally processed substantive information or peripherally processed executional cues—are the source of viewer's reactions and what form those reactions take in the formation of attitude toward the ad.

Methodology

The sales managers in the four broadcast television stations in a Midwestern city, hereafter referred to as Market 1, were contacted and asked to participate in the study by supplying video tape copies of three or four commercials, produced by their stations for local, retail businesses and that represented some of their recent and best work. The stations supplied a combined sample of 14 commercials.

The following criteria were used to select four commercials from the 14 supplied by the Market 1 stations:

1) The commercials chosen were for retail stores selling a product rather than a service. It was decided to limit the study to retail stores selling a tangible product since some research indicates there may be differences between retail advertising for products and services (Stafford & Day, 1995). The desire was to eliminate this possibly confounding variable.

2) Commercials that appeared to utilize both central and peripheral cues were selected. While no formal content analysis was done on the commercials, the information typology developed by Resnik and Stern (1977) was employed to determine that the commercial contained information that would fit the Petty and Cacioppo (1981) "Elaboration Likelihood Model."

3) Commercials for products that were either gender neutral or that, within the set of four commercials, provided a balance between products aimed at men and women were chosen.

4) Commercials that utilized contrasting creative concepts and strategies were preferred. The chosen commercials utilize such techniques as on-camera and off-camera narrators, straight product presentation, demonstrations, "slice of life" scenarios, and both color and black and white videography.

The chosen commercials represent four different product categories: vision centers, recreational marine, gardening and furniture. A storyboard for each commercial is provided in Appendix A. The names of the advertisers have been changed and pseudonyms are used in the text.

Two Midwestern television markets were utilized in this study. By showing the television commercials produced in one market to subjects in a second market, it was hoped that the potential for a subject's reaction to the advertisement being influenced by prior knowledge of, or experience with, the advertised businesses would be reduced or eliminated.

Market 1 was chosen because of its size and geographic location. It is somewhat isolated and yet is the trade center of a relatively large geographical area. Market 1 is large enough for television production to be sufficiently sophisticated, yet small enough to have a significant number of local businesses that utilize local television.

The interviews were conducted in a comparable market, hereafter referred to as Market 2, approximately 250 miles from Market 1. Market 2 is far enough away from Market 1 that, it was hoped, individuals being interviewed would not be familiar with the specific retail businesses featured in the commercials and that their reactions to the commercials would thus not be tainted by prior knowledge of the specific store advertised. This turned out to be the case with all the ads except the vision center commercial. One informant recognized the name of the department store that housed the vision center, but did not know that the store contained an optical department. Market 2 is also a community with a population large enough and economically affluent enough that the informants would likely be interested in the product categories represented by the commercials in the sample. The two television markets are geographically close enough that regional differences and customs were not thought to be a factor.

Subjects for the interviews were recruited by an experienced market research company based in Market 2. Names were chosen from the phone book utilizing a systematic sampling procedure. The systematic sampling procedure for subject recruitment included a random starting point marked on each page of a telephone listing sheet. recruitment calls were made only to addresses within specified geographic boundaries and after one subject was successfully recruited from a page, no further calls were made to numbers listed on that page. It was thought that this procedure would reduce the periodicity bias (e.g. periodicity due to unlisted phone numbers) of the sample

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Individuals were invited to participate in the study based on the following criteria:

1) Addresses were to be from a specific area of Market 2 that is suburban in nature, known to have people of a particular age, education, income and employment status.

2) People aged 33-55 were to be invited to participate.

3) People with an education level of some college or post high school training through masters degree were to be invited.

4) An equal number of men and women were to be recruited.

These criteria were designed so as to obtain a demographically homogenous subject pool. A homogenous subject pool was thought likely to produce reactions similar enough for trends to be apparent. While it does limit the generalizability of the results, the greater likelihood of significant trends appearing was judged to be more valuable for this exploratory study.

The 33 - 55 age demographic was specifically chosen because it was thought that individuals in this age bracket would be somewhat more established in their occupations and home situations and perhaps less influenced by the MTV-type of commercial television entertainment.

It was also thought that individuals who had experienced at least some college would be more likely to have the ability to be self-reflective and able to communicate their reactions to the television commercials. It was recognized that this rather narrow subject profile would limit the generalizability of the findings. However, the advantages were thought to outweigh the disadvantages in this exploratory study.

The in-depth interviews were guided interviews utilizing specific, open-ended questions asked of each subject. Follow-up questions, based on the subject's initial responses, were asked in an effort to probe for detail and depth within the data (see Appendix B for the question guide utilized by the author during the interviews). Guided interviews with open-ended questions were chosen, along with follow-up questions, to allow the researcher maximum flexibility to clarify informants' reactions. Individual interviews were chosen rather than focus groups in an effort to obtain data that clearly represented an individual's personal reactions. Individual reactions were judged to be more likely to produce usable data than data that might be confounded by potential group dynamics.

The interviews were conducted in a church reception room equipped with a television, video tape player with remote control and comfortable furniture. The location was in close proximity to the geographic area from which the informants were recruited and was a "neutral" site.

Present at each interview were the informant, the interviewer, and a research assistant. The three sat at a conference table with the interviewer opposite the informant. The assistant operated the audio tape recorder but did not participate in the interview in any other way. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes and the interviews were conducted in the afternoon and early evening during a two week period. A twenty dollar ($20) honorarium was paid to each informant at the conclusion of the interview.

The sample of four television commercials obtained from the television stations were paired in 6 combinations (ads 1-2, 1-3, 1-4, 2-3, 2-4, and 3-4). Each informant was shown three commercials, including a practice commercial and one of the above pairings. Qualitative data were collected during in-depth interviews with each subject about the presented ads.

With 18 individuals in the informant pool, the cycle of 6 combinations of ad pairings was completed 3 times and each individual commercial was seen by 9 different individuals. This is consistent with interview and focus group methodological guidelines (Krueger, 1994) that require multiple group sessions to generate enough data to show patterns and trends.

The first of the three commercials provided a practice time for the subjects and was designed to reduce the anxiety level of those subjects who had never participated in a research project of this type before. Following the viewing of the practice commercial, which was not part of the formal study and not analyzed in this report, the subjects were asked for their general reaction to it and then, whatever their response, were informed that the response was exactly the type of information that the interviewer was looking for. Each informant saw the same practice commercial to reduce any contamination that might have resulted from a main testing effect (Churchill, 1983).

After the practice commercial, the following procedure was employed for showing the first commercial in each pairing:

1) The commercial was played straight through and afterwards the subject was asked the first series of open-ended questions (see Question Guide in Appendix A).

2) The commercial was then shown a second time. During the second playing of the commercial, the subject was given a remote control and instructed to pause the tape at any point he/she wished to make a comment about a specific part of the ad.

3) Following completion of the second viewing, the second series of questions was asked by the interviewer (see Question Guide in Appendix B).

4) Finally, the commercial was shown a third time without pausing and the subject was asked for any last comments regarding that commercial.

This procedure was then repeated for the second commercial in the pairing. It should be noted that the order of the commercial within each pairing was alternated to avoid any confounding influence of the viewing sequence.

In the analysis of the commercials related responses were grouped together and categories of responses evolved. Generally speaking, a category is reported if at least three different informants provided data related to that category. Occasionally, a repsonse category is included with fewer than three informants and when that occurs it is noted in the findings.

Findings

The first research question sought to discover what it was within local retail television commercials that prompts reactions from viewers. In other words, do consumers react to the information that is central to the main selling message or do they react to those cues that provide context for the message? The second, sought greater understanding of the ways in which individuals evaluate the information that they perceive in commercials and the contexts into which they place those perceptions. The third and final general research question sought insight into what information informants think ought to be included in local retail commercials and thus, presumably, the information they consider important. Each of these questions is discussed in turn.

RQ 1: What reactions do viewers have to centrally processed and peripherally processed cues within local retail television advertising?

Throughout the interviews, it was clear that both central message and peripheral elements influenced the information gained by informants from each advertisement. This was expected and is consistent with the research on national brand television advertising noted previously in this study (Lord, Lee & Sauer, 1995; Lutz, 1985; Stern & Resnik, 1991).

In the case of each commercial, both message content (e.g. the product featured, the price or offer, the characters portrayed, etc.) and contextual elements of the commercials (e.g. technical transitions between scenes, pace of the commercial, tone and speed of the narrators delivery, music, etc.) were noted by the informants as having an effect on their reaction to the commercial. This study thus points to a similarity between the reactions to local television advertising and to national brand television commercials. Both cognitively processed central message elements and peripheral cues have an effect on the viewer of the commercial.

The more important finding is that there are indications that the dichotomy between substantive information and contextual elements is too simplistic. It is not a case of which cue—central or peripheral—is most dominant or most important, but rather from what perspective does a particular cue become important to viewers.

For example, in the Phillipson Marine commercial, the use of the child could be interpreted in two ways. It could be interpreted as peripheral to the main selling message and therefore a possible distraction, or it could be interpreted as part of the main message that the business is family-friendly. The Hennesey Gardens commercial provides another example of how central and peripheral cues are so closely tied that it may not be possible to separate them. In this case it was seen that some contextual details about the store (e.g. the brightly colored flowers, the contrast between the flowers and the bare landscape scenes and the use of the women and the dog at the end of the commercial) were perceived by some viewers as the main message of the commercial. In the Friendship Furniture ad, the opening scene carries the central message of store size and product availability, but the viewers interpreted this scene as signs of clutter, thus transforming the primary message.

This interpretation of the data suggests that the perspective of the viewer should be carefully considered by both the local retail advertiser and the local creative agent (i.e., the media outlet that produces the advertisement). The importance of a commercial element is dependent upon the interpretation given to it by the receiver. What may be peripheral for the producer, may be perceived as central by the viewer.

RQ 2: How do consumers evaluate the information they perceive as being contained in local retail television advertising?

Six major themes emerged from the data regarding the manner in which the informants evaluated the elements in the local retail commercials they were shown: 1) Evaluations and reactions tied to personal experiences, 2) Ad elements did not always have the presumed intended effect, 3) Viewer interest was moderated by interest in the product, 4) Inconsistencies between elements contributed to the evaluation of the advertisement, 5) Substantive information was desired by the informants, and, 6) Attention to the types of elements changed after successive viewings. Each theme will be discussed in turn.

Theme 1) Evaluations and reactions were often tied to personal life experiences, assumptions and connections. The reactions to the ads were consistently filtered through individual personal experience and preferences.

For example, one of the informants for the Phillipson Marine commercial tied the central message of the commercial to a quality of life. She said: "If you have a boat, you're going to have a wonderful life. . .You too can have this wonderful life." The Friendship Furniture ad elicited evaluations based on personal preferences, experiences and comparisons to other commercials. The opening scene of Friendship was perceived as cluttered and tied by one of the respondents to her feeling that too many choices made her tense while another individual tied impressions to "I feel like I've been in that store before. It seemed like it was probably your typical furniture store that is a cut above junk level."

Connections to personal experiences even filtered the reaction to the Jeffries Vision Center offer of two pair of eyeglasses for the price of one. The value of the offer was questioned on the grounds that "maybe the price of the first pair is twice as much as the second pair. You're paying as much for the one pair as you would for two pair somewhere else, anyways." Also, "There's lots of place you can. . .buy one, get one free. [The product is] either out of date, out of stock, or they're just trying to unload it. They didn't give me any reason to doubt that that's what they were trying to do here."

The connections to outside experiences that are evident in these interviews seem to underscore the desirability of carefully profiling a store's customers and making sure that negative implications of ads are not likely with those target viewers. This leads naturally to the next point.

Theme 2) Ad elements did not always have the presumed intended effect. At times, they seemed to "backfire" and have a negative impact on attitude formation.

Examples of this phenomenon occurred in each of the commercials. The reaction to the young child spinning the propeller in the Phillipson ad seemed to elicit the strongest "backfire" reaction: "That part really bothers me with that child by that propeller. . .As far as I'm concerned, any time you've got a child near a boat at all, even when it's out of the water, you keep him away from the back end of it." In the Hennesey Gardens ad, the final scene showing the three women and the dog was questioned: "What are we looking at here?. . .What were all those people? And what did they have to do with the commercial?" In the Friendship ad, the opening scene presumably included to show the breadth of product was interpreted as "cluttered." And, finally, in the Jeffries commercial, an attempt to involve the viewer in a pseudo eye examination yielded a reaction that the commercial "didn't come across as being overly intelligent."

These findings would seem to be consistent with the idea that television very effectively conveys emotional messages and that local television commercial sponsors and producers would be well advised to pay close attention to the potential effects of the scenarios they choose to use to convey the intended sales message.

Theme 3) Interest in the commercial was often mediated by interest in the product and by whether the informants considered themselves to belong to the target audience for the advertisement. This evaluation of interest and target audience was most noted in two commercials, those for Phillipson Marine and Hennesey Gardens. For example, one of the informants, in speaking of the Phillipson commercial, noted: "The little boy did a good job of talking, but it didn't really relate to me that well. . .It's cute, I think if a woman was listening to it, because they appeal to the child. . .but it doesn't turn me on to buy a boat." And, in the Hennesey Gardens commercial, another informant was very interested in the product as she noted: "You just happened to hit my button. I would go there, just based upon what I've seen. . . I love flowers."

These data would seem to confirm that part of the filtering process that an individual uses to determine where he/she will focus limited attention resources is the relevance of the message to his/her personal needs and wants. Put simply, if a message is not relevant to an interest, desire or need, it will likely be ignored.

Theme 4) Incongruities between ad elements within the commercial and between the ad message and the respondent's personal experience or assumptions were noted for two commercials and seemed to contribute to the overall evaluation of the advertisement.

These incongruities were most noted for two commercials, the ones for Hennesey Gardens and Friendship Furniture. In the Hennesey commercial, it was the inclusion of a picture depicting a rather barren area of the nursery's grounds while the script talked of the store's landscaping capability that was considered incongruous. The two elements--verbal script and visuals--were perceived by several informants to be out of sync with each other. For example, one of the informants labeled that scene as "probably the least effective part for me. . .the outside of a building with some picnic tables and some dead trees there. Not very effective."

A similar incongruity was noted by several informants for the Friendship advertisement. In this case, the discrepancy centered on the audio script's claim that the store offered fine furniture and the expectation of the informants as to what that constituted. For one informant the claim to being a fine furniture store was in conflict with the phrase "every day discount price"; for another the discrepancy was between his perception of the "classy" announcer and the "warehouse" look in the scene.

In general, the informants' ability to note such incongruities again gives an indication of the importance of the context in which the central selling message of the commercial is conveyed. Close attention to such details is imperative to avoid an ineffective commercial.

Theme 5) Substantive information that would be helpful in making a purchase decision was desired by the informants, but there appeared to be a strong desire that the information be presented in an interesting, different or entertaining way.

The desire for information to be conveyed in an interesting manner is demonstrated by the positive reactions to the product demonstration scenes in the Phillipson and Friendship commercials and, conversely, by the negative reactions to the Friendship opening scene that was characterized as "uninteresting." In the Phillipson commercial, one informant positively remarked about the scenes showing the boats in action: "If you're into boating, this is what you want to see. You want to see them in action." In contrast, the opening scene of the Friendship ad was criticized: "I have a feeling that if I just initially saw that first scene and it was so cluttered, I'd probably leave before I heard the rest. . . It didn't really grab my attention. It sort of was like this big mass of stuff. It didn't hold my attention." Further support for the idea that information needs to be conveyed in an interesting manner can be found in the evaluation by several informants that the Jeffries commercial did not maintain their interest after the commercial's opening: "I wasn't overly thrilled with it. . . Lately, I've seen a lot of ads that have used that type of technique. It's starting to be overused. . .After [the opening] my attention was gone."

While the above evaluations lend direct support to the need for information to be presented in an interesting and entertaining manner, indirect support can be inferred from one informant's opinion of television in general. This reaction was sparked by the

Jeffries commercial: "It irritates me a little that so much in television is a waste of time now, anyway. I don't mind watching commercials if they're well done. . .I want to be entertained in between shows, too, and I feel like this [commercial] is almost more insulting my intelligence than entertaining me."

It appears to be quite clear from the interview data that substantive information is considered important by these informants but that, for the information to be received and perhaps retained, it must be presented in an interesting and entertaining manner.

Theme 6) Attention to the types of elements—central and peripheral—seemed to change after each viewing of the commercial.

The most direct evidence of this change in attention emerged in the Phillipson Marine commercial when Rich discussed in some detail how he paid more attention to the child during the first viewing of the commercial but noted more of the central sales message in successive viewings. He also noted changes in his emotional reaction to the commercial. For him, the first viewing elicited a "happy and cheerful" emotion while the second viewing was "more of a neutral" as he paid closer attention to the central sales message.

Another example occurred in the Hennesey commercial. In this instance, the same informant, Rich, after his first viewing of the commercial, commented negatively on a graphic element that had dominated the screen for the entire commercial: "The lettering was so small. . .that you had to really look close. . .That was about the least effective thing I saw." After seeing the commercial three times, Rich had a positive evaluation of that same graphic: "I thought it was pretty nice that they kept the name up there so you never forget. . .Instead of just showing it once at the beginning and once at the end, this way it helps stick in your mind."

It is unclear from the other interviews whether there exists a pattern that would suggest a consistent change of direction in attention from peripheral cues to central sales message or vice versa. And there is no clear evidence in this study that trying to design a local television commercial to first elicit an affective response before presenting the central sales message would be an effective strategy. The evidence seems only to suggest that in successive viewings different elements of the commercial are noted. Further research into this phenomena would be warranted.

RQ 3: What information is reported as missing and worthy of inclusion in local retail television advertising?

After the third viewing of each commercial, the informants were asked what was missing from the ad. Most informants noted as missing information that would be considered important to making an "informed" purchase decision at the retail level. This included such items as warranties, guarantees, price and location information in the form of maps and storefront pictures. For example, for the Phillipson ad, the following comments were typical: "I'd like to see what kind of money we're talking about here" and "You might want to know [whether] there's financing available." For the Hennesey Gardens commercial: "A map may have been more helpful" and "I would have liked to see a picture. . .of what the main door looks like." For the Friendship ad, information on product variety was called for: "They didn't talk about any other woods. . .there's other types of wood that you could use or describe" and "If they had other types of furniture, it should have been mentioned.

However, while dominant, such central message elements were not exclusively noted as missing. One informant wanted an adult to play a more prominent role in the Phillipson commercial, in order to add more credibility to the ad: "[I would] like to have seen an adult. . .using the child in some respects, but having an adult, one of their sales people or the owner. . . come on and talk about the business." In the Jeffries commercial several informants would like to have seen such peripheral type of information as an indication that the "customer" had "confidence" in the store and more attention to detail such as the "identification" and "little doodads in their pockets" that optometrists usually have.

The findings with regard to the third general research question seem to reinforce the fifth theme noted above for the second research question. It is apparent that there is a desire on the part of these informants for substantive information that they consider useful in making a purchasing decision. At the same time, these same informants make it quite clear that a commercial needs to be interesting and, to a certain extent, entertaining, in order for them to view the entire commercial and to retain the information being offered by the advertiser. It is, therefore, incumbent on the producer of the commercial to strike a balance between the substantive information and the peripheral, entertaining cues. Careful attention to both peripheral and central message elements of a local television commercial, especially as these elements work together, is needed to increase the effectiveness of advertisements.

Implications of This Study

This study began with the observation, reported in a number of previous investigations, that the information value of local retail television advertising is deficient when compared to national brand advertising. Despite this broad observation, little research had actually focused on viewers' reactions to and interpretations of local broadcast commercials. Rather than design a comparison study of national and local ads, however, a decision was made to focus on only the local commercials. Employing the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Petty and Cacioppo (1981), this study sought to examine responses to four retail ads. The goal was to gauge awareness and evaluations of both central and peripheral cues present in each ad, and especially the awareness and evaluation of information absent from the ads.

It was assumed that there are a number of differences between national brand and local retail advertising. First, the goals are different. Whereas, the former is concerned with bringing attention to a particular product, the actual retail point of sale being inconsequential, the latter is concerned with the many and varied purchases available at a particular retail site. Second, as a result, brand advertising tends to have a balance which favors peripheral cues, the emotional concomitants of each product. It was assumed that local retailers, who desire to distinguish the qualities of their store from others, would use television to produce information-rich and affectively poor ads.

The present data do not support all those assumptions. It is true that, at least for the particular respondents in this study who viewed the four specific commercials used, an awareness of both central and peripheral cues was noted. It is also true that peripheral cues were more likely to be judged a factor in either the success or failure of commercials than were central cues. But it is not true that the informants judged the commercials to be information-rich. Indeed, the research subjects provided an extensive list of information bits missing across the four commercials. These included information on price, warranties, product variety and location. Since this study did not, as noted, employ a comparative framework (i.e., between national and local ads), it is not possible to say that informants desire a different balance of central and peripheral cues. What is possible to say is that the apparent lack of informativeness of local commercials reported in other studies has been confirmed by the present study.

Advertisers are thus faced with something of a dilemma. On the one hand, viewers place great stock in the peripheral or emotional cues when judging the effectiveness of commercials. On the other hand, they want substantive information that will enable them to locate a store and know what to expect in terms of product selection and cost. This dilemma may explain local retailers' previously studied disappointment with local television advertising. If the local advertiser insists on having a commercial which contains a preponderance of substantive information with little regard to the effects of the peripheral, executional elements, it would not be surprising for the commercial's effectiveness to suffer. Conversely, it is probable that, if the emphasis is placed on the executional and affective cues, without providing the substantive information necessary to maintain the interest of the viewer, the effectiveness of the advertisement will also suffer.

This dilemma may also explain the difficulties faced by consumers—they want substantive/centrally processed information from a medium (television) that is best suited for emotional and entertaining messages. If the expectations are for television to be entertaining and emotional and the commercial offers only substantive information, the effectiveness of the advertisement will likely suffer.

Limitations

Care must be taken in too broadly interpreting the results of this study. The commercials utilized for this research represent a convenience sample from one medium-sized, midwestern television market and may not be representative of all local television commercials. Similarly, the informants were systematically selected from a telephone listing and subject to a relatively narrow demographic profile in one small, midwestern television market and may not be representative of the population as a whole.

The commercials were shown to individuals in a setting that was not typical of a normal viewing environment. The commercials were not imbedded in typical "programming" and, as a result, the informants' attention was focused on the commercials being presented. In addition, the commercials were shown three times, including once when the informant was given the ability to stop the commercial and comment on his/her reaction to a specific element. Therefore, the results cannot be interpreted as representative of phenomena occurring during "normal" television viewing activity. The individuals interviewed may or may not react in the same way in a more naturalistic setting.

The study is also limited by the use of commercials for retail stores that offer a tangible product. It may not be applicable to local television commercials for businesses that offer a service (e.g. a dry-cleaner or tax accountant) rather than a tangible product.

It is also not known to what extent, if any, sociological influences affected the responses of these informants. Prior attitudes towards advertising in general or local advertising in particular were not assessed as part of the interviews. Neither were the attitudes the informants may have held toward relatively small, local retail outlets as compared to large retail chains assessed and so their influence is not accounted for in the analysis of the data.

Finally, the findings and conclusions of this study may be biased by the author's subjective judgment and experience. It should be noted that there is no attempt to generalize these findings to the population as a whole, nor to television advertising at either the local or national levels. The findings and conclusion should be interpreted within the limitations noted above.

Suggestions for Future Research

Nevertheless, this study does suggest possible future research directions. A replication of the study utilizing local television commercials and informants from different size and geographic regions of the country would help establish the validity and generalizability of these findings.

Second, a similar study of local retail business owners would provide an interesting comparison of the reactions advertisers and consumers have toward the sample commercials. This would be particularly interesting if the merchants' marketing goals and advertising objectives were included in the study and the viewers' reactions compared to those goals and objectives.

Third, a study designed to investigate whether the different commercial elements noted after successive viewings of the commercial have any relationship to the perceived effectiveness of the commercial would be significant. There was some indication that the repeated viewings allowed viewers to attend to different elements of one commercial. However, the annoyance that viewers expressed toward certain repeated elements within a commercial may have been exacerbated by the multiple showings. Also, it is not known whether such repeated viewings/showings is alien to viewers, or mimics the natural process of seeing the same commercial during a single night's television viewing or across sittings.

Fourth, a study utilizing a sample of informants interested in the advertised product would provide deeper insights into the effects of specific peripheral cues on the perceived effectiveness of commercials.

Fifth, an exploration of the relationship between local retail advertising, national brand advertising and direct response television advertising would provide additional insights into the types of information that are most effective. Viewers reactions to these three genres of advertising must be studied.

Finally, this study has laid the groundwork for a comparative investigation. Specifically, subjects in future research projects should be given both national and local commercials, and the information value of each type must be directly assessed. The present study offers useful insights and a method for carrying out such a comparative investigation.

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Appendix A: Television Commercial Scripts

Phillipson Marine **Commercial Length**: 30 seconds

VISUALS	AUDIO SCRIPT
SCENE 1: YOUNG CHILD AT BOAT STEERING WHEEL	My name is Ben and I love boats.
SCENE 2: WIDE VIEW OF SHOWROOM WITH RUN-A-BOUT BOAT	Good thing my grandpa owns Phillipson Marine.
SCENE 3: CLOSE UP OF YOUNG CHILD IN FIRST SCENE	Look at all these awesome boats.
SCENE 4: BOAT WITH 2 MEN FISHING	Tracker fishing boats and
SCENE 5: PONTOON BOAT WITH PEOPLE	Sundecker pontoons
SCENE 6 FISHING BOAT SPEEDING AWAY	high performance fishing boats,
SCENE 7: BOAT IN SHOWROOM WITH YOUNG CHILD IN BOW	run-a-bouts from Crown
SCENE 8: DIFFERENT BOAT IN SHOWROOM WITH YOUNG CHILD IN BOW	and Larson.
SCENE 9: YOUNG CHILD SPINNING PROPELLER ON STERN OF BOAT	Merc and MerCruiser motors, too.
SCENE 10: YOUNG CHILD HUGGING GRANDFATHER	There's only one thing I love more than boats, my grandpa.

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Hennesey Gardens Commercial Length: 30 seconds

VISUALS	AUDIO SCRIPT
SCENE 1: STORE SIGN. ALL SCENES CONTAIN BLACK FRAME WITH LOGO AND LOCATION IN REVERSE TYPE	For flowers and plants that will keep blooming year after year,
SCENE 2: CLOSE-UP OF PURPLE FLOWER	visit Hennesey Gardens.
SCENE 3: WIDE SHOT OF PLANTS IN GREENHOUSE	We specialize in quality perennial plants,
SCENE 4: CLOSE-UP OF YELLOW AND RED FLOWERS	herbs, and ornamental grasses.
SCENE 5: MEDIUM SHOT OF SALESWOMAN AND FEMALE CUSTOMER	Hennesey Gardens' dedicated and knowledgeable staff
SCENE 6 CLOSE-UP OF PINK FLOWERS AND GREEN LEAVES	will help you choose just the right
SCENE 7: WIDE SHOT OF PLANTS IN PLASTIC COVERED GREENHOUSE	perennial favorite.
SCENE 8: MEDIUM SHOT OF YELLOW, PURPLE AND RED FLOWERS IN A GARDEN-LIKE SETTING	For sunny drive borders, cool shady
SCENE 9: WIDE SHOT OF GROUNDS WITH A BARREN TREE IN FOREGROUND	nooks, rocks gardens, woodlands, or natural life areas.
SCENE 10: MEDIUM SHOT OF GREEN PLANTS UNDER A WOODEN FENCE	For plants that will grow gracefully
SCENE 11: CLOSE-UP OF RED FLOWERS	with little maintenance,
SCENE 12 MEDIUM SHOT OF 3 WOMEN AND DOG. BUILDING IN BACKGROUND	come to Hennesey Gardens. It's easy to find.
SCENE 13: STORE HOURS IN VARIOUS COLORS.	Go left on Grand Avenue and continue 1 and 1/2 miles west of Allentown.

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Friendship Furniture **Commercial Length**: 60 seconds

VISUALS	AUDIO SCRIPT
SCENE 1: PANORAMIC VIEW OF STORE. SPOKESWOMAN IN BACKGROUND	If you are considering purchasing an oak dining set, make sure it's American Red Oak which is far superior to the imports.
SCENE 2: WIDE VIEW OF STORE. CAMERA HAS ZOOMED CLOSER TO SPOKESWOMAN	Friendship offers dining sets from an American manufacturer, constructed of 100% solid American Red Oak,
SCENE 3: MEDIUM VIEW OF STORE. CAMERA CONTINUES ZOOM IN ON SPOKESWOMAN	with a fine furniture finish. The differences are many.
SCENE 4: MEDIUM SHOT. SALESWOMAN AND FEMALE CUSTOMER BEHIND DINING ROOM SET.	Our Friendship sales associates can explain.
SCENE 5: CLOSE-UP OF BEVELED ROUND TABLE EDGE.	A 42" table with a beveled edge
SCENE 6 CLOSE-UP OF METAL GEAR MOVEMENT BEGINNING TO TURN	to accommodate the 18" leaf,
SCENE 7: CAMERA PULLS BACK TO SHOW MORE OF MECHANISM AS IT TURNS.	a metal gear movement,
SCENE 8: CAMERA PULLS BACK MORE TO SHOW MECHANISM FULLY EXTENDED.	mounted in solid oak, even the base plate is solid oak.
SCENE 9: MEDIUM SHOT OF OAK CHAIRS	Four solid oak, bow-back chairs
SCENE 10: CLOSE-UP OF CHAIR LEGS	with turnings on the legs
SCENE 11: CLOSE-UP OF CHAIR LEG STRETCHERS	and stretchers in the base.
SCENE 12 MEDIUM SHOT OF SALESWOMAN, FEMALE CUSTOMER, TABLE. PRICE SUPERIMPOSED IN CORNER OF SCENE.	All five pieces, $599. Homemakers every day discount price.

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SCENE 13: CLOSE-UP OF SPOKESWOMAN STANDING IN FRONT OF CHAIRS. FURNITURE IN BACKGROUND	100% American solid Red Oak dining sets. American made, finished like fine furniture should be. Unbeatable quality and price.
SCENE 14: LOGO AND LOCATION. RED LINES OVER AND UNDER NAME ARE ANIMATED.	Friendship Furniture, 95th & Franklin.

Jeffries Vision Center Commercial Length: 30 seconds

VISUALS	AUDIO SCRIPT
SCENE 1: COLOR SCENE. OPTOMETRIST MOVING EXAMINATION DEVICE TOWARD CAMERA.	Okay, Mr. Johnson, let's proceed with your eye examination. Now, what do you see?
SCENE 2: CIRCLE SURROUNDED BY BLACK, AS IF LOOKING THROUGH OPTICAL EXAMINATION DEVICE AT LOGO	—Jeffries Vision Center? Very good.
SCENE 3: CIRCLE AS IN PREVIOUS SCENE. SEE WORDS PRINTED IN BLOCK LETTERS "BUY ONE PAIR OF GLASSES."	Now? —Uh, buy one pair of glasses
SCENE 4: CIRCLE AS IN PREVIOUS SCENE. WORDS PRINTED IN BLOCK LETTERS, "GET A SECOND PAIR FREE."	and get second pair free. —Excellent. And?
SCENE 5: CIRCLE AS IN PREVIOUS SCENE. WORDS PRINTED IN BLOCK LETTERS, "AND A FREE EYE EXAM!"	—And a free eye exam. Very good.
SCENE 6 LOGO AND LOCATION REVERSED OUT OF BLACK BACKGROUND	For a limited time, when you buy one pair of glasses, you get a second pair and the examination free, exclusively at these Jeffries Vision Centers.

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Appendix B: Instructions for Interviews and Survey Instrument

- Explain Consent Form
  - Purpose of Study
    - Reactions to television commercials
- Recorded and transcribed
  - I'll be tape recording this session to be sure I remember everything you said. Your comments, however, are strictly confidential, you will not be identified in any way in the research.
    - Replies will be kept confidential
    - Will not ask questions that are unduly personal or invasive of privacy
    - You may decline to answer any question and may withdraw from the study at any time
- Consent Form
- Opportunity for questions
- Signature and copy to respondent
- Procedural Instructions
  - I have two commercials that I'd like you to view. We'll look at each commercial and then I'll ask you some questions about it.
    - The first time, we'll view it straight through then I'll ak the questions
    - The second time, I'd like you to stop the commercial at any point you choose and comment on the contents of the commercial
    - The last time, I'd like you to view the commercial straight through again and add any additional comments that you would like.
    - Please be candid about your reactions to the ads, both positive and negative comments are equally valuable. This study is not connected with any advertising agency, TV station or business, so please, be candid.
- Any questions? Let's start

- Show commercial
- Ask these questions after the first time through the commercial
  - What's your first impression of this commercial?
  - What do you remember about the commercial
  - If you were to rate this commercial on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not effective at all and 10 being very effective, how effective was this commercial?
    - What was the most effective part?
    - What was the least effective part?
- Instructions before the second viewing
  - This time, I'd like you to stop the ad, using the pause button (demonstrate), at any time you'd like to make a comment about a specific part of the ad. I'm just going to mark down where you stopped. I'd be interested in your comments on anything in the ad that you feel is good or bad, particularly effective or ineffective. Anything that catches your attention that you would like to comment on.
  - Any questions?
- Ask these questions after the second viewing
  - What do you think was the main point of the commercial?
  - How did this commercial make you feel, emotionally?
  - From what you saw in the ad, if you were to go to that store, what would you expect the store to be like?
- Ask these questions after the last viewing
  - What would you have liked to have seen in the commercial that wasn't included?
  - Have you ever shopped in this store?
  - Would this ad persuade you to visit this particular store?
    - Why / Why not?
    - What is it in the ad that would have persuaded you?

- Do you know anyone that is associated with this business?
- Typical Follow up Questions
  - Would you elaborate on that
  - What is it in the ad that makes you think that?
  - What do you mean by that?
  - What is it in the ad that makes you feel that way?

IS CULTURE GOING GLOBAL?

A Comparison of South Korean and U.S. Newspaper Ads in the New Millennium

Competitive Paper to be presented at the

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IS CULTURE GOING GLOBAL?

A Comparison of South Korean and U.S. Newspaper Ads in the New Millennium

ABSTRACT

This study content analyzed U.S and South Korean newspaper advertisements for the year 2000 to investigate whether previous findings about cultural differences manifested in Eastern and Western ads are still valid. While communication styles were found to be different and localized, it appears that cultural values of individualism/collectivism reflected in Eastern and Western ads might be less distinct and globalized. Findings are discussed in terms of theoretical, methodological and socio-economic considerations, along with globalization/localization implication.

Is Culture Going Global? : A Comparison of South Korean and U.S. Newspaper Ads in the New Millennium

"… Advertising reflects these wider systems of meaning: It reflects the way people think, what moves them, how they relate to each other, how they live, eat, relax, and enjoy themselves. All manifestations of culture, at different levels, are reflected in advertising" (de Mooij, 1998, p.43).

INTRODUCTION

Advertising reflects and contributes to the values of a culture (Pollay, 1983; Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996). But as companies expand beyond their own borders, more and more international advertisers must consider whose values to represent – or what kind of marketing strategy will work well across cultures. Factors that international marketers must take into account include "language, customs, tastes, attitudes, lifestyles, values, and ethical/moral standards" (Belch & Belch, 1998, p.621). When marketers ignore cultural differences, successful products may fail in the global market. For example, the successful ad copy of Heineken in the United States, "you don't have to make a great fuss," could not be translated with its unique nuance into other languages. Pepsodent toothpaste was unsuccessful in some Southeast Asian countries because it promised white teeth to cultures where black and yellow teeth are symbols of prestige (Belch & Belch, 1998).

Facing complicated international market situations, international advertisers have increased their interest in scientific research. Based on such industry interest, cross-cultural research has become increasingly important in the field of advertising (Cutler & Javalgi, 1992). Muncy and Eastman (1998) reported that the *Journal of Advertising* had published 48 articles related to international advertising from 1972 to 1997. Since then, 23 articles dealing with international markets and cross-cultural analyses were published in the *Journal of Advertising* from 1998 to 2001. However, increasing interest about international advertising has been somewhat overlooked in mass communication academic journals. For instance, *Journalism and Mass Communication*

Quarterly presented only four international advertising articles out of all 61 advertising-related articles from 1984 to 2001.

International advertising research has largely focused on whether to "globalize" or "localize" advertising messages in foreign markets. In fact, for almost four decades, international marketers, advertising agencies, and academicians have been debating the applicability of globalized or localized international advertising (Agrawal, 1995; Onkvisit & Shaw, 1999).

Some researchers argue that consumer needs are essentially similar all around the world, and advertisers should focus on the similarities (Levitt, 1983; Kanso, 1992; Deng, Jivan & Hassan, 1994; Dunkan & Ramaprasad, 1995). Others contend that advertisers must adapt their ad messages in different countries because consumer reaction reflects cultural differences (Mueller, 1987, 1992, 1996; Taylor, Miracle & Chang, 1994; Zandpour et al., 1994). For example, Taylor et al. (1994) argued that the globalization strategy is not feasible in Asian countries such as Japan and Korea due to the fact that these countries show vast differences in media and message strategy for TV commercials when compared to the United States.

The controversy over the globalized versus localized advertising is complicated. Practitioners lean toward globalization because of cost effectiveness, simplified strategic planning, and consistent brand image (Agrawal, 1995). However, the important question is when, where, and to what extent international advertisers can use globalization strategies.

Meanwhile, international advertising researchers have stressed the importance of cultural factors in making strategic decisions about globalization or localization and assessed values reflected in the ads (Lin, 1993, 2001; Mueller, 1987, 1992, 1996).

Cultural values in Western and Eastern cultures are believed to be very different. Companies increasingly market their products among the newly emerging economies of the Far

East; understanding Eastern cultures has become a major concern among academicians and practitioners (Kaynak, 1993).

In this study, U.S and South Korean advertisements are compared. South Korea was selected because of its economic importance, as the U.S.' ninth largest import and export market in 1998 (Moon & Franke, 2000). According to *Ad Age International* (1999), South Korea was projected to be the world's tenth largest advertising market in 1999.

With close ties between the two countries, cross-cultural studies between American and South Korean advertisements have been conducted in recent years. For instance, content analysis was done to compare cultural values reflected in South Korean and U.S. TV commercials (Cho et al., 1999; Miracle, Chang & Taylor, 1992) and in magazine ads (Han & Shavitt, 1994), and to examine differences in the communication styles of political advertising (Tak, Kaid & Lee, 1997). Experimental research has been conducted to investigate consumer response to individualistic and collectivistic messages reflected in magazine ads (Han & Shavitt, 1994), to gauge South Korean and American attitudes toward advertising (Yoon, Muehling & Cho, 1996), and to examine the effects of information level depending on cultural and contextual differences (Taylor, Miracle & Wilson, 1997). Finally, Moon and Franke (2000) surveyed Korean and American advertising practitioners to identify cultural influences on ethical perceptions.

However, no study has looked specifically at the impact of recent socio-economic changes in South Korea on advertisements. For example, the market and communication situation worldwide has grown even more complex and unpredictable and a series of "revolutionary" events occurred in recent years such as the drastic growth of Internet use and the worldwide Y2K problem (Terpstra, 2000). In addition, the foreign currency crisis, called 'IMF shock,' which attacked Asian countries in the end of 1997 and 1998 affected the entire socio-economic infrastructure. Since advertising mirrors some crucial economic and social consequences (Zinkhan & Balaz, 1998), this study considered social changes occurring at the end of the century and the beginning of the new millennium to assess how those changes might be reflected in the advertisements. Specifically, we sought to examine cultural values and communication styles manifested in South Korean and U.S advertisements in the year 2000 through a content analysis of newspaper ads.

The study compares cultural values manifested in U.S. and South Korean advertisements based on the theoretical framework of Hofstede's (1980, 1983, 1991) individualism/collectivism and Hall (1976)'s low/high context cultural dimensions. This framework will allow us to systematically assess cultural values reflected in advertising.

This study content-analyzed newspaper advertising, which few cross-cultural studies have done. Despite the difficulty of data collection and matching, newspaper advertising is useful for cross-cultural advertising research (Tak et al., 1997), because it is able to overcome differences in market size and media situation, and is able to represent general consumer targets.

Changes in Korean Society and Advertising Industry

The foreign currency crisis called 'IMF Shock' in the end of 1997 through 1998 enormously battered South Korea. According to *Advertising Yearbook* (1998), published by the Korean Association of Advertising Agencies, the U.S. dollar-Korean won exchange rate was 844 won to a dollar in the end of 1996, but it jumped to 2,000 Korean won in December 1997. The unemployment rate doubled from 2.1% in October 1997 to 4~5% in January 1998 and the rate of economic development dropped to -6.5% (*OECD Economic Outlook,* 1998).

The economic depression forced advertisers to cut their advertising budgets. *The KAA Journal*(2000), a monthly publication published by the Korea Advertisers' Association, reported a 33.6% reduction in advertising budgets. According to the Korean Association of Advertising

Agencies, one third of advertising professionals were laid off by the end of 1998 (*KAA Journal*, 2000). South Korean advertising, which had not experienced negative growth in 20 years, dropped by 4.3% in 1997. In 1998, the decline hit 22.8% (*Advertising Information*, 1999). The IMF crisis also affected consumer lifestyles and buying behavior (*Annual Consumer Research*, 2000). As consumers became more practical and price-oriented, consumption shrank. Since many workers were laid off, and many large corporations went bankrupt, workers came to realize that they could not depend on lifetime employment. While traditional small retail stores remained bankrupt or closed, gigantic multinational retail stores like *Walmart*, *Big K*, and *Karfu* attracted more consumers with their low pricing strategy.

Recovery was fast, however. In the second quarter of the year 2000, total advertising expenditure was about 2,970 billion won, with an unprecedented increase of 35.2%, compared to the previous year (*Advertising Industry Trends*, 2000). South Korea seemed to be out of IMF shock; however, this did not mean that the advertising industry would come back to where it was before the IMF crisis.

Experiencing bitter economic difficulty, the advertising industry made major changes. First, practitioners realized how unstable the advertising infrastructure was (Choi, 1999) and started restructuring to a so-called "global standard" (M. Lee, 1998). Other changes affected the entire advertising industry. According to the *Advertising Industry 1998*, the era of multi-media and multi channels began in 1997 when the second local South Korean TV station started, Internet advertising became popular, and the education program station owned by Education Broadcasting Company (EBS) started advertising. With the growth of cable TV and satellite TV, the South Korean media environment became more complicated and sophisticated.

During this period, multinational advertising agencies prospered. Whereas South Korean advertising agencies had financial difficulty in 1998, multinational advertising agencies recorded an increase in market share from 4% in 1996 to 37.5% in 2000, explosively increasing by 124.2% from a 169.1% increase in 1999 (S. Lee, 2001). Indeed, more and more multinational marketers began introducing their global products to South Korean consumers using a globalization or localization strategy.

The complicated changes in the advertising environment at the start of the new millennium also led advertisers to stress images of technology and innovation in advertisements. In 1999, advertisements commonly used the word "new millennium" or "Digital" (*Cheil Communication Monthly,* 2000). In that same year, a number of Internet companies started advertising in traditional media. Changes in the ad industry and consumer behavior and the growth of the Internet may have allowed South Korean society to become more "westernized" and its advertising more "standardized" (M. Lee, 1998).

Cultural Values and Dimensions

Values are the deepest manifestations and expressions of culture and represent "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 1980, p.19). Values, at the core of culture (Hofstede, 1991), appear to be relatively stable features of individuals and societies and hence correspond in this regard to personality and cultural characteristics. Thus, values vary across cultures and hardly or slowly change over time (Samli, 1995).

Daniel Potter (1954), in his influential book, *People of Plenty*, asserted that advertising shapes the values and standards of societies. Since then, strong arguments have been made suggesting that advertising both reflects and influences cultural values (Albers-Miller, 1996; Belk & Pollay, 1985; Hong, Muderrisoglu & Zinkhan, 1987; Pollay, 1983). Pollay (1983) developed a content analysis method for measuring the values manifest in advertising. McCarthy (1994) argued that cultural values are the key issues in cross-cultural research for marketing and advertising. Hong et al. (1987) suggested that advertising that portrays the values embedded in the very culture is more effective than advertising that ignores these values. Accordingly, many cross-cultural studies of advertising have been conducted, based on the assumption that advertising mirrors cultural values.

Hetsroni (2000) analyzed most of the empirical work related to cultural values in advertising in three ways: (1) a comparison of the values reflected in current versus past advertising; (2) a comparison of the cultural values portrayed in advertising across cultures; and (3) an examination of the argument that values reflected in advertising produce a distorted mirror (Pollay, 1986; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996). In the second group, cross cultural studies have expanded from polarized comparisons of Eastern vs. Western to all include countries all over the world, including the Arab world (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000), Caribbean countries such as Dominican Republic (Murray & Murray, 1996), and even multi-national comparisons (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996; Gould, Goupta & Grabner-Krauter, 2000; Millner & Collins, 2000; Zandpour et al., 1992, 1994). However, the standard of comparisons has typically been the U.S. (Hestroni, 2000).

In the past two decades, the major frameworks for understanding culture have been Hofstede's typology of cultural dimensions including collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance and masculinity/femininity and Hall's low/high context cultural dimension. Many researchers studying cross-cultural advertising have used these cultural dimensions (Albers-Miller & Gelb, 1996; Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000; Cheng, 1994; Cho et al., 1999; Han & Shavitt, 1994; Lin, 1993; Milner & Collins, 2000; Miracle & Choi, 1997; Moon & Franke, 2000; Tak, Kaid & Lee, 1997; Taylor et al., 1994, 1997; Zandpour et al., 1992; Zinkhan & Balaz, 1998). This study utilizes the individualism/collectivism dimension and Hall's low/high context dimension because of their salience and their relevance to distinguish Western (the U.S) and Eastern (South Korea) values (Cho et al., 1999; Taylor et al., 1997; Triandis, 1993).

Collectivism/Individualism

Individualism/collectivism can be defined as "people taking care of themselves and their immediate family only in a loosely knit social structure, versus people belonging to in-groups to look after them in a tightly knit social organization" (Hofstede, 1980, p.87). In individualistic cultures, people are "I"-conscious, express private opinions, and self-actualization is important. In collectivistic cultures, people are "we"-conscious, their identity is based on the social system to which they belong, and avoiding loss of face is important (Cha, 1994).

Advertisements in individualistic cultures appeal more to individuality, self-reliance, success and self-benefit, while ads in collectivistic cultures typically relate to group belonging, benefits to others, relationship, and group fulfillment (Cho et al. 1999; Han & Shavitt, 1994; Miracle et al., 1992; Mueller, 1987). For instance, a detergent ad headline in an individualistic culture might say, "Use this product, your clothes will be bright and clean," whereas in a collectivistic culture it might be, "use this product, your family's clothes will be bright and clean" (Shavitt, Nelson & Yuan, 1997).

Unlike the assumption that advertising of Western countries reflects individualism and Eastern countries reflects collectivism, recent studies have shown inconsistent results (Cho et al., 1999; Han & Shavitt, 1994; Huang, 1995; Shavitt, Nelson & Yuan 1997; Taylor et al., 1997). Taylor et al. (1997) indicated the goal of ads in collectivistic cultures such as that of South Korea is to appeal to consumers' collectivistic nature. In contrast, Cho et al. (1999) found that U.S commercials reflected individualism both in theme and execution, but collectivistic appeals were not observed more frequently than individualistic appeals in South Korean commercials. While Shavitt et al. (1997) found both American and Taiwanese subjects preferred collectivistic to individualistic appeals, Huang (1995) found in an examination of ad content that Taiwanese ads were more collectivistic than were U.S. ads, but found no differences in terms of individualism. Niles (1998) has also raised questions about cultural indicators as typical of individualism/collectivism. Given seemingly inconsistent findings, how is this cultural dimension reflected in contemporary advertising in the new millennium? Are there still differences between Western (the U.S.) and Eastern (Korean) cultures? Derived from these research questions, the following hypotheses will be tested:

H1a: South Korean ads are more likely to have collectivistic indicators than U.S. ads
H1b: U.S. ads are more likely to have individualistic indicators than Korean ads

High/Low Context

Individualism-collectivism defines broad differences in values between cultures, while Hall's low/high context scheme focuses on cultural differences in communication processes (Gudykunst, 1995). Context, according to Hall (1976), refers to how implicit or explicit the communication practice is in a culture. In a high context culture, communication style is internalized and expressed physically more than verbally, while in a low context culture, communication is clearly coded and transmitted.

Cho et al. (1999) asserted that the low/high context dimension of culture is one of the most frequently used dimensions for comparing differences between Asian and Western cultures. Taylor et al. (1994) noted that high context cultures are relational, intuitive, and contemplative, whereas low context cultures are analytical and action oriented. In advertising, de Mooij (1998) argued direct communication styles such as argumentation and rhetoric are found more in low context cultures, while indirect or symbolic expression can be more used in high context culture.

Many previous studies of cross-cultural advertising have employed this dimension with various indicators to determine the differences between Eastern and Western cultures. Ads in Western cultures contain more low context characteristics such as more informational cues (Cho et al., 1999; Lin, 1993; Taylor et al., 1997), more hard-sell approaches (Lin, 2001; Mueller, 1987, 1992), more direct and confrontational styles (Cutler & Javalgi, 1992; Miracle et al., 1992), more rhetoric (Caillat & Mueller, 1996; Tak et al., 1997), and more numbers or graphics in TV commercials (Cho et al., 1999) than ads in Eastern cultures. On the other hand, advertisements in Eastern cultures demonstrate high context styles with more emotional appeals (Cho et al., 1999; Taylor et al., 1997), more soft-sell approaches (Cutler & Javalgi, 1992; Johansson, 1994; Lin, 2001; Mueller, 1987, 1992), more indirect and harmony seeking appeals (Miracle et al., 1992), and more focus on images (Tak et al., 1997) than ads in Western cultures.

South Korea has been regarded as a high context culture, whereas, the U.S. is considered a low context culture (Gudykuynst & Kim, 1994; Tak et al., 1997). Kim (1992) indicated that South Koreans seem less expressive and communicate less than Americans because they hold the Eastern view that communication is somewhat limited. Therefore, the following hypotheses will be tested.

H2a: South Korean ads will have a greater number of high-context indicators than U.S ads
H2b: U.S. ads will have a greater number of low-context indicators than Korean ads

METHOD

Content analysis was used to compare cultural differences in U.S. and South Korean newspaper advertising. Content analysis has been the most common procedure used to investigate cross-cultural differences or values to produce an objective, measurable, and verifiable account of the manifest content of messages (de Mooij, 1998).

Sample

Newspaper advertisements were chosen because the newspaper is the most comparable medium between South Korea and the U.S. U.S. TV has numerous channels, while South Korea has only three commercial channels and limited cable and local TV. Moreover, American TV ads are mostly 30 seconds and even 60 seconds, while South Korean TV ads are mostly 15 seconds or even 10 seconds because of the limited number of channels. Magazine is a very much target-segmented vehicle, in which ad content varies depending on the specific target of the magazine, making it difficult to establish comparable publications. In addition, South Korean magazine advertising is somewhat limited because of the small market size.

Advertisements in *Chosun-ilbo* in South Korea and in the *New York Times* in the U.S were selected randomly. Both newspapers are relatively well matched (Tak et al., 1997) in that each is arguably its countries' most salient and influential newspaper, and has nationwide readership.

Based on constructed week sampling, newspapers throughout the year 2000 were collected. Since the U.S. newspaper has a special edition on Sunday and the South Korean newspaper has a day off every other Sunday, the Sunday newspaper was excluded from the sampling. Nationally advertised brands/products only were sampled to exclude any locality. To eliminate any redundancy that may have biased the results (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), any duplicate advertisement for the same brand was excluded from the sampling. Finally, classified and movie ads have almost the same format, and therefore, were excluded from this study. As a result, 1318 newspaper advertisements were content analyzed, 694 from *Chosun-ilbo* and 624 ads from the *New York Times*.

Coding Procedure.

As shown in Table 1, the study developed mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable coding categories, based on previous research on individualism/collectivism cultural values (Han & Shavitt, 1994) and communication styles (Cho et al., 1999).

Two bilingual graduate students coded the advertisements. Considering gender differences and cultural biases (Miracle, 2001), one female Korean American who has lived in the U.S. for more than 15 years and is fluent both in Korean and English coded the entire data set. The other coder was a Korean male who just arrived in the U.S. He coded 170 randomly selected sample ads, which is more than ten percent (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994) to calculate intercoder reliability. Coders worked independently and were not aware of the hypotheses. Before coding, six training sessions were conducted. During the first three training sessions, the coders worked together to code sample material and discussed the results and possible problems. During the next three training sessions, the coders practiced coding and contributed to the coding manuals. The end result of the training sessions was a 20-page coding manual with detailed instructions and examples.

The coders were instructed to examine all elements of the advertising such as headline, subhead, body copy, illustration, caption, and slogan for coding, indicating "yes or no" for each item. In the next step, scales were constructed of each cultural dimension (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Because content analysis is an inherently judgmental task, consensus among coders is very important. For the intercoder reliability, this study adopted Krippendorff's alpha, which takes chance agreements into account (Krippendorff, 1980). All reliability values of the variables were within the acceptance level, about .75 (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994), ranging from .79 to 1.00. One variable, 'conformity,' with substandard agreement was discarded for the construct of collectivism. In contrast, the intercoder reliability of the variable of tentativeness/vagueness was 1.00, meaning perfect agreement. However, this high agreement could be derived from the rarity of appearance of this variable, which resulted in lower alpha reliability. Thus, the variable was discarded. Before calculating t-tests, Cronbach's alpha was computed. All scales of each cultural dimension were within an acceptable reliability, 0.7 (Nunnaly, 1978), ranging from .70 to .81 (See Table 1).

RESULTS

Independent samples t-tests were used to test the significance of hypotheses at the .05 level. Bonferroni-type correction was used to guard against Type 1 error. While some advertising research has accepted looser significant levels, Bonferroni correction has increasingly been adopted by other communication and social psychology researchers (Aries et al., 1998; Malinkina & McLeod, 2000).

Findings

Table 2 shows the results of mean differences according to t-tests for each cultural dimension between the U.S. and South Korean advertisements. Bonferroni correction applied to four t-tests in terms of cultural dimensions determined an alpha level of .013.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The first two hypotheses that South Korean ads would be more likely to have collectivistic indicators (H1a) than U.S. ads, and the U.S. ads would be more likely to have individualistic indicators (H1b) than South Korean ads were not supported. There were no significant mean differences in terms of collectivism and individualism. This finding is contradictory to what Cho et al. (1999) found in their most recent cross-cultural study between the U.S. and South Korea.

Comparing U.S. and South Korean TV commercials, they found that the theme of individualism is much more prevalent in the U.S. than in South Korea, even though they could not find the significant difference in terms of collectivism.

In the collectivism dimension, South Korean ads appealed more to being together or harmony (KO= .18, US= .12, $t_{(df=1308.09)}$ = 3.38, p. < .001), but, in the individualism dimension, they significantly focused more on individuality or status (KO = .84, U.S. = .77, $t_{(df=1236.75)}$ = 3.44, p. < .001), self-indulgence (KO= .26, U.S. = .19, $t_{(df=1317.99)}$ = 3.00, p. < .01), and benefits to an individual target audience (KO = .72, U.S. = .62, $t_{(df=1273.75)}$ = 3.82, p. < .001).

In contrast, U.S. ads contained a greater number of 'belonging' indicators (KO = .27, U.S. = .37, $t_{(df=1267.54)}$ = -4.17, p. < .00) in the collectivism dimension, and more 'self-reliance' items (KO = .23, U.S. = .21, $t_{(df=1249.27)}$ = -4.71, p. < .00) in the individualism dimension. However, it is noteworthy that within each country, advertisements reflected more individualistic than collectivistic cultural dimensions (KO = 3.02 vs. .78, U.S. = 2.80 vs. .85, respectively), but with each cultural indicator mixed across collectivism/individualism cultural dimensions.

The second hypotheses indicated that Korean ads would show more high context cultural indicators than U.S. ads (H2a), and U.S. ads would be more low context oriented (H2b) than South Korean ads. There were significant mean differences between Korean and the U.S. ads in view of low/high context; therefore, hypotheses 2a and 2b were supported. In other words, South Korean ads contained a greater number of high context indicators (KO = 1.84, U.S. = 1.51, $t_{(df=1214.5)}$ = 3.62, p. < .001), than did U.S. ads (KO = 2.71, U.S. = 3.03, $t_{(df=1316)}$= -3.71, p. < .001). In terms of individual items of low/high context dimension, South Korean ads had significantly more indicators of indirect communication style (KO = .56, U.S. = .30, $t_{(df=1315.13)}$ = 9.80, p. < .001) in the low context dimension, while U.S ads had more indicators of a direct communication style (KO = .36, U.S. = .68, $\underline{t}_{(df=1306.88)} = -12.21$, $\underline{p}. < .001$) and were more prone to address the consumer's practical, functional, or utilitarian need for the product (KO = .37, U.S. = .53, $\underline{t}_{(df=1291.20)} = -5.85$, $\underline{p}. < .001$) in low context dimension. This is consistent with previous studies that looked at context or communication styles as one characteristic of cultural differences (Cho et al., 1999; Lin, 1993; Miracle et al., 1992; Mueller, 1992; Tak et al., 1997; Taylor et al., 1997). All of these past studies found the same result; namely, that Eastern (South Korea or Japan) advertising reflected high context communication style, whereas, Western (U.S.) advertising demonstrated more low context communication styles. However, it should also be noted that within each country, advertisements reflected more low context than high context communication styles (KO = 2.71 vs.1.84, U.S. = 3.03 vs.1.51, respectively).

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether cultural differences are manifest in newspaper advertisements in South Korea and the U.S., based on the assumption that advertising reflects cultural values. Many previous cross-cultural studies reviewed in this paper showed that advertising in Western countries reflects individualistic values and a low context communication style, while advertising in Eastern countries reflects collectivist values and a high context communication style (Han & Shavitt, 1994; Mueller, 1992, 1996; Miracle & Choi, 1997; Taylor et al., 1997). This study, however, shows some different results.

Only the assumption that South Korean ads would demonstrate a greater number of high context indicators than U.S. ads and U.S. ads would contain a greater number of low context indicators was supported. The U.S. ads used direct communication addresses such as "I" and "you" very often, whereas, South Korean ads had more indirect communication styles. Wordings such as "the customer," instead of "you," "we," and "I" were often used or there were no addresses at all in South Korean ads. Low and high context is a cultural dimension that Hall (1976) differentiates on the basis of the communication styles that predominate in the culture. Considering that advertising is a form of communication with highly persuasive intention, it is no wonder that this different kind of communication style deeply rooted in each culture was reflected in each advertisement. In this sense, the distinction of low/high context communication may still be useful for understanding the cultural differences and should be considered for the application of international ad strategies.

On the other hand, the individualism/collectivism dimension did not differentiate U.S. and South Korean newspaper ads in this study. Unlike previous research (Han & Shavitt, 1994) that has shown South Korean ads to be collectivistic and U.S. ads to be individualistic, this study found no significant differences in the use of these cultural indicators across South Korean and U.S. ads.

Considering that the individualism/collectivism dimension has been identified as the most important dimension of cultural differences (Triandis, 1994, 1995), the results here are surprising. However, several explanations are offered related to the measurement of cultural dimensions and the primary assumption that cultural values are reflected in advertising.

The first possibility is that Hofstede's (1980, 1991) work on individualism/collectivism incorrectly presents the values as opposite poles of one dimension, which may not apply adequately to advertising. Alternatively, Triandis (1993) have suggested individualism and collectivism can coexist and are simply emphasized more or less in each culture, depending on the situation. Likewise, Huang (1995) pointed out that Hosftede's study of cultural values may be confined to work-related values, and should not be generalized to everyday life situations.

As advocated by Cho et al. (1999), additional cultural dimensions should be added to studies of advertising content, for example, the vertical and horizontal dimension within individualism and collectivism (Nelson, 1997; Singelis & Triadis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Horizontal and vertical dimensions cut across individualism and collectivism and are important considerations for understanding how differently individuals view the self and how equally or hierarchically resources are distributed (Triandis, Chen & Chan, 1998). South Korea, which has generally been regarded as a collectivistic culture, also demonstrated vertical characteristics such as 'competition' and 'success,' which are widespread values in South Korean society. Indeed, it is interesting to trace a very successful advertising campaign "Nobody remembers the second place. The first spirit-SAMSUNG electronics," and find common examples of copy such as "Sung-Eun won the first place again in his class (because he has studied English with this book)" and "award winning and ranking as the first place and the most popular..." which all point to vertical values within South Korea.

The second possibility is that drastic social mobility might affect individualism (Triandis, 1993, 2000). Triandis (1993) argued that individualism is a consequence of cultural complexity, cultural heterogeneity, affluence, and social and geographic mobility. As explained earlier, South Korea experienced drastic socioeconomic changes in a few years. It is possible that a skyrocketing unemployment rate might have caused consumers to feel unstable and to be more individualistic rather than to depend on their workplace. Since the foreign currency crisis and IMF intervention, numerous foreign companies have tapped into the South Korean market, seeking cheap labor and factories, which may be stimulating change in South Korea. Triandis (1993) also argued that mass media might disseminate the values of individualism. Along with traditional media content introducing Western views, a drastic increase of Internet use might have helped foster westernization of Korean advertising. Along with social change in South Korean society, the South Korean advertising industry may be influenced by international and mostly Western advertising agencies and professionals.

The third possibility is based on a more fundamental question of advertising as an indicator of cultural values. McCarty (1994) argued that advertising, particularly in developing societies, might not reflect current value orientations but the orientations of a society that the culture is progressing toward. As cultures progress (Samli, 1995), they tend to become more individualistic and more future oriented. Therefore, current advertising may reflect the evolving value orientations of the culture. The question of whether advertising reflects current cultural values might be explained by the commercial nature of advertising itself. For example, Mueller (1987) pointed out that Japanese advertising would adopt western appeals, "if it fits the consumer needs." South Korean advertising might also adopt some Western or more individualistic appeals to the interests of younger target audiences. For instance, one camera ad's headline, "My baby doesn't need a father (Because I can use this product for my baby without its father's help)" featured a business woman holding her baby. The emphasis in this ad may not reflect mainstream cultural values, but might appeal to independent-minded young Korean women.

Overall, it might not be safe to conclude that Korean culture is as individualistic as the U.S; however, it is possible that South Korea, known as a collectivistic culture, may be becoming 'Westernized' – or more exactly, Americanized -- for the last half decade. For example, in a comparative study of Chinese and U.S. TV commercials, Lin (2001) found that Chinese TV commercials reflect trends toward westernization and Americanization. Based on observations by the South Korean author, likewise, values, worldviews, and consumption patterns as expressed in South Korean advertising appear to be moving toward the Western ways.

For international marketers, this study may suggest that a global strategy could be used for product ads conveying individualistic values, but advertisers should still localize their communication styles, at least in terms of the cultural values and the medium that this study considered. However, the question of when and how to use a globalization or localization strategy still has many questions unanswered.

Are cultural values of a society reflected in advertising? From the content analysis of South Korean and U.S newspaper ads, it seems that cultural values shown in advertising may no longer reflect a purely Eastern or Western society but perhaps a globalized one. The standardized advertisements have already been shown in South Korean media: for example, the U.S. computer product ad for Hewlett Packard has a headline of "Calvin, an inventor," with a visual of a smart looking Asian boy playing around with the computer and digital scanner. This ad appeared in the South Korean newspaper with the same visual and the text translated into Korean. Just as South Korean advertising has been influenced by western culture, U.S. ads also contain indicators of Eastern culture. The results showed that U.S. ads contained a greater number of 'belonging' indicators that are typically identified with the collectivism construct. As van Steenbergen (1989) suggested, the West has been influenced by Eastern cultures. Social trends and popular culture reflect such Eastern influence with the growing popularity of foods such as Japanese sushi and Chinese egg rolls, Eastern movie stars such as Jackie Chan and Zet Li, and Eastern languages such as Japanese *Hiragana* and Chinese *Kanji* spread on the street. Western advertisers are also adopting Eastern values, images, and symbols. The use of Asian symbols such as Asian noodles in Asian bowls and Asian chopsticks, to symbolize "keeping your life together" in an Ericsson electronic product ad executed in the U.S. newspaper is just one example.

For good cross-cultural research, Triandis (1994, 1995) suggested that multi-method procedures should be used. This multi-method approach is considered highly desirable in cross-cultural research because each method has inherent limitations to measure cultural differences. For instance, content analysis is appropriate to examine some social phenomena, maximizing external validity, but often does not catch causal relations between variables. This study content analyzed only one newspaper in each country and over a one-year period. Future research can be done with the selection of different newspapers or media, and a combination of content analysis with experiments or surveys to explore consumer responses. Furthermore, a longitudinal cross-cultural study might be better at tracing changes in South Korean advertising in the last few years.

This study sought to examine cultural differences manifest in South Korean and U.S. newspaper advertisements in terms of overall cultural dimensions, which may not reveal subtle differences. For example, although no significant differences were found in the use of individualism/collectivism between South Korean and U.S. ads, there were differences in the types of individualistic themes used most often across cultures. South Korean ads showed a greater number of themes related to 'indulgence' and 'status' while U.S. ads contained more indicators of self-reliance. Therefore, all indicators within a cultural dimension might not explain in detail cultural differences reflected in South Korean and U.S. ads. This issue requests more diverse cultural dimensions to be employed in cross-cultural study of advertising for richer and more valid explanation of cultural values prevalent in South Korean ads.

Table 1. Operationalization of Cultural Dimensions and Indicators

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Collectivism: (.81)*

1. Appeals about the integrity of or belonging to family or social groups (.90)
2. Conformity. Do what every one else is doing. Not standing out. Peer pressure (.70)
3. Emphasis on harmony. Being together. Friendship, partnership, companion. (.87)
4. Sharing, gift-giving (.89)
5. Emphasis on the accomplishments of the family or social group (.86)
6. Emphasis on the benefits to families, group members, or others (.87)

Individualism: (.70)

1. Focus on the individuality or status of the consumer (.97)
2. Uniqueness, creativity, originality. Focusing on being different, or standing out. (.96)
3. Escape or stay out of the current position (.89)
4. Self-indulgence: excessive or unrestrained gratification of one's own appetites, desires, or whims. Enjoyment, fun, pleasure, instinct gratification (.93)
5. Mentioning of ranking, competition, winning, the best and the most (.92)
6. Self-direction or self-reliance. Freedom, choosing own goals, self-esteem (.87)
7. Self-fulfillment or self-development (.84)
8. Self-benefit (.90)

Low Context: (.70)

1. Focus on product features, information, and characteristics (.92)
2. A direct, first/second person address (.91)
3. Explicit mention of competitive products or comparative appeals (.90)
4. Addressing the consumer's practical, functional, and utilitarian need for the product (excluding economic benefits) (.79)
5. Figure: Use of numbers, charts, or graphs. Price, percentage, growth rate, limited time. (.88)
6. Credibility: emphasis on inspiring belief and trustfulness. Expert knowledge. Award winning, guarantee, warranty, endorsements. Use of product-related celebrities, media people, and critics. (.88)

High Context: (.75)**

1. Associating a product with a particular situation, type of person or lifestyle. Ad format such as testimonial and a slice of life from spokespersons. Use of product–irrelevant celebrities or common people (.89)
2. Emphasis on feeling, emotion and mood (.87)
3. Indirect, third person address. Not addressing audience, indicating a specific name (.88)
4. Use of metaphors, indirect communication, or aesthetic expressions/visuals. Creative execution (.83)
5. Tentative statement. Intuition, ambiguity, generality, vagueness, and bland expressions (1.00)
   Addressing affective, symbolic, or subjective impressions of intangible aspects of a product (.80)

Note 1. Numbers in the parenthesis of each dimension indicate the alpha reliability
2. Numbers in the parenthesis of each item indicate the intercoder reliability
* The alpha reliability of collectivism and high context dimension was computed excluding 'conformity' item in collectivism dimension and 'tentativeness' item in high context dimension.

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Table 2. Cultural Values and Communication Style in Korean and the U.S. ads

Cultural Values	Mean		T	df	p-value (one-tailed)
	Korea	U.S			
Collectivism	.78	.85	-.961	1316	ns
Individualism	3.02	2.80	2.115	1284.21*	ns
Low Context	2.71	3.03	-3.708	1316	.000
High Context	1.84	1.51	3.587	1214.54*	.001

df* : because F was significant in Levene's test for equality of variances (p<.05), equal variances were not assumed

* Adjusted critical value at .013.

Table 3. Cultural indicators between Korean and the U.S. ads

Cultural Indicator	Mean		t	df	P-value (one-tailed)
	Korea	U.S.			
Belong	.27	.37	-4.166	1267.537*	.000
Correlation	.18	.12	3.379	1308.087*	.001
Share	.15	.16	-.368	1316	ns
Co-Fulfill	8.07E-02	9.29E-02	-.790	1316	ns
Co-Benefit	.10	.11	-.665	1316	ns
Status/Individuality	.84	.77	3.447	1236.751*	.001
Unique	.23	.21	.705	1316	ns
Escape	4.61E-02	7.37E-02	-2.099	1193.609*	ns
Indulge	.26	.19	2.997	1317.989*	.002
Compete	.40	.35	1.737	1307.155*	ns
Self-rely	.23	.34	-4.709	1249.267*	.000
Self-fulfill	.30	.24	2.579	1314.713*	ns
Self-benefit	.72	.62	3.817	1273.749*	.000
Inform	.88	.81	3.179	1223.941*	ns
Direct Address	.36	.68	-12.266	1306.882*	.000
Utilitarian/Function	.37	.53	-5.846	1291.200*	.000
Figure	.60	.56	1.532	1297.326*	ns
Credibility	.50	.45	1.792	1302.392*	ns
Association	.35	.32	1.091	1306.512*	ns
Feeling	.27	.29	-.784	1316	ns
Indirect Address	.56	.30	9.800	1315.133*	.000
Metaphor	.44	.38	2.278	1307.130*	ns
Intangible	.23	.23	.004	1316	ns

df* : because F was significant in Levene's test for equality of variances (p<.05), equal variances were not assumed

* Adjusted critical value at .002.

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Contextual Effects of Advertising on the WWW

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Abstract

The current study was designed to understand task-induced contextual effects on congruent and incongruent banner ads embedded on two-task websites (information vs. entertainment). As predicted, it was found that a task-congruent banner ad was remembered better and yielded a more favorable attitude toward the ad and the brand, higher purchase intention and click-through, compared to a task-incongruent banner ad (H1). This task-congruency effect was the same for both information (H1.1) and entertainment situations (H1.2). The current study also found that people remembered better, clicked more, and responded more positively to an embedded banner ad when they were engaged in an information task than an entertainment task, in both the task-congruent (H2.1) and the task-incongruent context (H2.2).

Introduction

The Internet is one of the fastest growing media. It took radio 28 years to achieve an audience of 50 million; television took 13 years while the Internet took only 5 years (Sterne 1997). Over 513 million people have internet access worldwide as of August 2001 (NUA Internet Surveys 2002). As with previous media, it was advertising that facilitated the process of commercialization of the Internet. Since advertising is one of the most important revenue sources for web publishers (Zeff and Aronson 1999), Internet advertising is also experiencing explosive growth. According to eMarketer (2001), total spending on online advertising will soar to $11.4 billion by 2004, up from $7.3 billion in 2001. Advertising on the Internet is a relatively new concept, and ways to advertise effectively and efficiently are constantly being studied. Because the Internet is a high-involvement medium, the placement of advertisements plays an important role in advertising effectiveness (HotWired 1996). One of the main concerns about advertising on the Internet today is the

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amount of clutter that the viewer encounters. On many web sites, banner ads flood the page, much like the clutter of television commercials. Because of these trends in Internet advertising, it is imperative to study the context in which banner ads are embedded and the influence it has on advertising effectiveness on the www.

The current study conceptualizes the context as the user's task or purpose for using the Internet. In addition, a user may respond differently to advertising messages depending on not only the task context but also the perceived role of embedded banner ads in his/her task performance. Therefore, this paper incorporates the concept of congruency into task-contextual effects; i.e., it explores the effects of user task on the Internet (i.e., information versus entertainment context) and congruency between task context and advertising contents on various advertising responses such as awareness, recall, attitudes, and click-through rates.

Literature Review

Contextual Effects on Advertising Effectiveness

Today's consumer is bombarded by a huge number of promotional claims during their media usage. Because of this increasing clutter, advertisers must understand various factors influencing advertising effectiveness. One of the factors is advertising context—materials that precede or surround advertising messages such as programs in broadcast media or editorial articles in print media (Chook 1985; Lord and Burnkrant 1993; Soldow and Principe 1981). This advertising context is especially important to media plans because of its implications for media selection decisions. Contextual effects in information-processing started getting theoretical attention in the mid 60s in the field of cognitive psychology: 1) contextual effects on human memory and language understanding (Anderson and Ortony 1975; Barclay et al. 1974; Tulving and Thompson 1973), 2) contextual effects on information search (Roediger 1983; Smith, Theodore, and Franklin 1983), 3) contextual effects on visual perception (Liebowitz 1965; Balota and Rayner 1983; Palmer 1975), and 4) contextual effects on memory schema (Rumelhart and Ortony 1976).

Applying contextual effects into the advertising field, the issue of how the program environment affects processing of advertising messages has received increasing theoretical and practical attention. Many research studies support the idea that program/editorial context influences advertising effectiveness in various media, for example, effects of radio programs (Lord, Lee, and Seuer 1994), effects of magazine articles (Norris and Colman 1992), and effects of television programs (Axelrod 1963; Barwise and Ehrenberg 1987; Bello, Pitts and Etzel 1983; Bryant and Comisky 1978; Clancy and Kweskin 1971; Kennedy 1971; Krugman 1983; Murphy, Cunningham, and Wilcox. 1979; Park and McClung 1986; Siebert 1978; Singh and Churchill 1986; Soldow and Principe 1981; Steiner 1963; Thorson and Reeves 1985).

In addition, different studies used different conceptual definitions of advertising context, for example:

demanding/ relaxing program	(Barwise and Ehrenberg 1987)
program involvement	(Bryant and Comisky 1978; Kennedy 1971; McClung, Park and Sauer 1985; Park and McClung 1986; Park and Young 1983, 1986; Soldow and

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	Principe 1981)
program interests	(Krugman 1983; Steiner 1963)
program liking and/or program-induced affect	(Coulter 1998; Erdley and D'Agostino 1988; Goldberg and Gorn 1987; Isen and Shalker 1982; Kamins, Marks, and Skinner 1991; Lord and Burnkrant 1988; Murry, Lastovicka and Singh 1992; Schumann 1986; Thorson and Reeves 1985; Veitch and Griffitt 1976)
program-induced arousal or pleasantness	(Mattes and Cantor 1982; Mundorf, Zillmann, and Drew 1991; Pavelchak, Antil, and Munch 1988)

In the current study, the researcher conceptualizes advertising context as the task or purpose for using media. If a user were surfing the Internet for an entertainment purpose, would advertising response differ from that of a user who is searching the Internet for information? The purpose of media usage has been a very important construct in advertising literature, mostly found in uses and gratifications literature.

Conceptual Foundation

Media Uses and Gratifications

Since the early 1940s radio programming studies by Lazarsfeld (1940) and Herzog (1944), the uses and gratifications approach has been used for understanding why people use a medium, particularly for explaining continuing use of a medium (McGuire 1974). The uses and gratifications approach was employed to study a wide range of mass media and showed that people actively seek gratifications from their media uses: for example, television for entertainment, relaxation, information acquisition, escape, companionship, or value reinforcement (Steiner 1963; Bower 1973; Rubin 1994); radio for companionship, boredom reduction, and information acquisition (Mendelson 1964); newspapers for information acquisition, socialization, and relaxation (Berelson 1959); computer-aided instructional settings for convenience, companionship, intelligence, and diversion (Kuehn 1994); cable television for many choices and high level of control (Shaver 1983); video cassettes for variety, time, and mobility (Waterman 1984; Levy and Fink 1984); the Internet for entertainment, escape, information, interactivity, socialization, convenience, organization, etc. (Eighmey and Mccord 1995; Eighmey 1997; Katz and Aspden; 1997; Maignan and Lukas 1997; Mukherji, Mukherji, and Nicovich 1988; Rogers and Sheldon 1998; Stafford and Stafford 1998; Korgaonkar and Wolin 1999; Chen and Wells 1999).

Even though different studies identified and named different gratifications from various media, consensus seems to exist with regard to two basic functions of media. In other words, in the majority of previous works on gratifications derived from media uses, two factors always seem to emerge: 1) entertaining/relaxing/amusing and 2) informative/useful/relevant. Similarly, people are using the Internet for many different reasons, but information and entertainment seem to be the two most apparent purposes for using the Internet. A recent Internet user survey showed that one-half of Internet users rated the Internet as highly useful with regard to informativeness, while one-third said the medium was highly entertaining (Jupiter Communications 1999). Because the Internet is a relatively new addition to traditional media, contextual effects of the Internet environment on advertising effectiveness is a new area of

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study. As stated previously, many studies have been done on the placement of commercials in different television environments. However, there is a lack of research that focuses on users' tasks/purposes within different Internet environments and their impact on advertising effectiveness. In this vein, the current study will focus on users' tasks on the Internet (information vs. entertainment) to examine the different task-induced contextual effects on embedded banner ads.

Congruency Effects

Another important construct in the contextual effects of media environment on advertising effectiveness is congruency. The congruency theory has been applied and studied on advertisements embedded in television programs (McClung, Park and Sauer 1985; Park and Young 1983; Seamon, Brody and Kauff 1983; Sharma 2000). A study by McClung, Park and Sauer (1985) suggests that cognitively based advertisements are more effective when the viewer is cognitively involved with the program. Affectively based advertisements are more effective when the viewer is affectively involved with the television program. Park and Young (1983) found that when individuals are involved in a cognitive program, they tend to focus on the cognitive aspect of a commercial and when they are involved in an affective program, they tend to focus on the affect aspect of a commercial. Higher recall occurs when there is congruency between the involvement type of the program and the commercial (Sharma 2000). Seamon, Brody and Kauff (1983) suggest that greater learning and recall occur when the program, through priming of the viewer, creates a mind set that is congruent with the content of the commercial.

The congruency theory used to study advertisements embedded in television programs can also be used to evaluate Internet advertising. Accordingly, the current study explores the effects of congruency between user task (information vs. entertainment) and ad content on advertising effectiveness on the Internet. The literature on incidental ad exposure suggests that surrounding information that is not the focus of a person's attention (e.g., newspaper ads adjacent to an editorial) can be processed together with his or her primary task (e.g., reading a newspaper), so that it influences the person's attitude toward the ad and brand (Janiszewski 1993) and the product's likelihood of being included in his or her consideration set (Shapiro, MacInnis, and Heckler 1997). Similarly, embedded banner ads adjacent to the editorial content of web pages (usually at the top of the page) can be processed along with a primary task (information or entertainment). This processing of an incidental ad may be maximized if the ad is highly related to the user's primary task.

In other words, from the previous works on congruency effects and incidental exposure, the researcher expects that a task-congruent banner ad will be more effective than a task-incongruent banner ad. For example, when people use the Internet to search for computer products, they tend to positively respond to embedded banner ads for computer products (information-task-congruent banner ad). Similarly, banner ads for movie products will be more effective for those who surf the Internet to see movie pictures or clips (entertainment-task-congruent banner ad). The plausible explanation seems to be that in a task-congruent context, either information or entertainment, an advertisement is less likely to interrupt the user's primary task (e.g., searching for computer products, seeing movie pictures or clips, etc.) because of its consistency with the task. Therefore, the user tends to generate more positive responses to the task-congruent advertisement (better recall, better attitudes, etc.). Accordingly, the following hypothesis is generated:

H1: Task-congruent banner ads will be more effective than task-incongruent banner ads.

H1.1: Task-congruent banner ads will be more effective than task-incongruent banner ads in an information context.

H1.2: Task-congruent banner ads will be more effective than task-incongruent banner ads in an entertainment context.

Excitation Transfer/Spillover Effects. Previous literature reveals that the more involving, interesting, or arousing the programs are, the more effective the subsequent commercials are. Krugman (1983) suggests that program interest and involvement spills over into commercials. His "Spillover Hypothesis" stated that highly interesting programs produce higher product attitude scores for subsequent commercials. Mattes and Cantor (1982) found that residual arousal from prior TV programs positively transferred to the following commercials by increasing their evaluations. Singh and his colleagues (Singh and Churchill 1987; Singh and Hitchon 1989) also argued that evaluations of subsequent commercials were affected by program evaluations because of "Excitation Transfer Theory" (Zillmann 1971) or excitation carryover from programs to commercials. In other words, high levels of attention, curiosity, and excitement keep the audience watching through embedded commercials and positively influence the evaluations of subsequent advertising messages. According to Barwise and Ehrenberg (1982), information programs are more demanding and cause viewers to attain a higher involvement than entertainment programs. Similarly, information tasks on the Internet are more demanding and cause users to attain a higher attention and involvement level than entertainment tasks. Moreover, on the Internet, advertising exposure takes place at the same level as editorial exposure (e.g., a banner ad embedded on an editorial page) (Cho 1999), and the distinction between editorial contents and advertisements is more blurred on the Internet due to lack of legal restraint (Zeff and Aronson 1999). Hence, the researcher expects direct carryover/spillover effects of cognitive and/or affective attributes from the editorial web page to the banner ad embedded in the same exposure level. In other words, high levels of attention and involvement in the information task situation tend to keep the audience browsing through embedded banner ads and positively influence the effectiveness of banner ads (e.g., ad recall, brand recall, message association, attitudes, etc.) In an information task, people pay more attention to the contents, and they are more likely to be involuntarily or voluntarily exposed to embedded banner ads. More specifically, both task-congruent and -incongruent ads will get more attention in an information task situation, than in the entertainment context. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is generated.

H2: Banner ads that are placed in an information context will be more effective than those placed in an entertainment context.

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H2.1: Task-congruent banner ads placed in an information context will be more effective than those placed in an entertainment context.

H2.2: Task-incongruent banner ads placed in an information context will be more effective than those placed in an entertainment context.

Methodology

The current study employed a web-based experiment because it provides higher external validity for the current study due to the nature of the study (i.e., examining the effectiveness of online banner ads). In addition, an online experiment has other advantages over offline data collection methods, e.g., lack of interviewer bias, flexibility in questionnaire design, low cost, and time efficiency (Kehoe and Pitkow 1996; McCullough 1998; Schillewaert, Langerak and Duhamel 1998; Sheehan and Hoy 1999).

However, web-based studies have some limitations that should be recognized. The paramount problem of online surveys is limited generalizability due to inherent sampling bias, since there are no available sampling frames that list all email users, web users, and web pages (Dominick 1999; Kehoe and Pitkow 1996; Schillewaert, Langerak and Duhamel 1998). Because of this sampling difficulty, many online researchers have used convenient samples instead of representative samples drawn from general populations. Student samples have been very popular in Internet research (Cho 1999; Wu 1999; Chen and Wells 1999; Kang 2001; Edwards and Gangadharbatla 2002; Choi, Miracle and Biocca 2002; Hoerner 1999). Some researchers used various list servers to recruit sample participants from various interest groups (Greguras and Stanton 1996; Hong and Leckenby 1998, Cho, Lee and Tharp 2001). Other researchers used people search functions in various email service providers such as yahoo, hotmail, lycos, etc. (Sheehan and Hoy 1999; Patwardhan 2001). Among these different sampling methods, the current study drew sample respondents to the experimental web pages by posting recruiting messages through various list servers.

Sample

The experiment employed a 2 (task context type: information or entertainment) x 2 (congruity type: congruence or incongruence) factorial design in which subjects were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. An electronic recruiting message for the survey was distributed via postings in various discussion LISTSERV lists. The LISTSERV lists were selected from *CataList*, the catalog of LISTSERV lists (http://www.lsoft.com/catalist.html). This Web site provides 52,630 public LISTSERV lists on the Internet. Among these LISTSERV lists, education- , Internet-, advertising-, and marketing-related LISTSERV lists were selected because the researchers believed that the discussion subjects of these LISTSERVs were relevant to the current study. The study had a total of 383 participants. To recruit these 383 subjects, the researcher posted recruiting messages on a total of 80 LISTSERV lists, which were randomly divided into four experimental groups. The URLs of four different Web sites were randomly assigned to each of four subject groups. The last part of each Web site was linked to a Web page containing a questionnaire.

Stimulus Materials

The researcher of the current study conducted two mall-intercept pretests (n=30 for each test) to develop various stimulus materials (experimental web sites and banner ads). In the first pretest, to select information vs. entertainment contexts, the researcher asked people what they do on the Internet for information vs. entertainment purposes. Top entertainment activities included watching movie clips, seeing various pictures, chatting with friends, listening to music, and playing games, while top information activities included news browsing, research, and product search. Second, people were asked which products they were more likely to purchase on the Internet, and top product categories included books, CDs, DVDs, computer products, and electronics (e.g., digital cameras, DVD players, etc.). Among these various activities, for an entertainment context, the researcher decided to use movie-related (movie clips and pictures) web sites because other entertainment activities were either difficult to create or control (playing games and listening to music) or irrelevant to the current study (chatting with friends). For an information context, the researcher selected product purchase simulation because the current study examines advertising effectiveness including purchase intention. Among many different product categories, digital cameras were chosen at the researcher's discretion because of the relatively small number of brands and product variations compared to other product categories (e.g., books, CDs, DVDs, and computer products).

As a result, two test web sites (movie site and digital camera site) were created by a professional web designer. To stimulate an entertainment context, the movie web site consisted of various movie clips and pictures of movie scenes and stars, minimizing other textual information such as movie reviews and critics. This was to contend with the possibility that people use the movie web site for information purposes (e.g., deciding which movie to see based on what others have said about the movie). Second, for the digital camera web site (information context), the researcher decided to use a product selection contest to stimulate an actual product information search context.

Two artificial product online banner ads were created to exclude any influence from prior experience with the brands or ads. To determine mock brand names for two banner ads, the researcher conducted a second pretest where people were asked to suggest mock brand names for online digital camera shops and online movie shops. As a result, two mock brand names were selected: "DigiCamShop" for the online digital camera shop and "MovieWorldShop" for the online movie shop. Two experimental banner ads for these two brands were created in similar creative style and format. To determine congruency between banner ads and task web sites, the researcher asked pretest subjects to evaluate the congruency of each banner ad on each web site, and they successfully distinguished congruent contexts (the "DigiCamShop" ad on the digital camera contest site and the "MovieWorldShop" ad on the movie site) from incongruent contexts (and vice versa).

All the experimental ads and web sites were similar to actual web sites and ads currently placed on the World Wide Web. In short, as stimulus materials in the main test, four web sites were developed. Each of the four sites had two banner ads: a study banner ad and a dummy ad. Since websites often have more than one banner ad, the computer product dummy ad was created and

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embedded in all four sites to portray current websites as accurately as possible. The first website was a digital camera contest site with a task-congruent banner ad to stimulate an information task-congruent context. Subjects in this web site were told that they would receive a free digital camera of their choice if their rationales were selected as the top ten explaining why that camera was superior to others in that price range. A "DigiCamShop" banner ad and a computer product dummy banner ad were embedded in the site. This first web site was designed to stimulate a congruent relationship between the banner ad (digital camera banner ad) and the context of the site (digital camera selection task).

The second website was also created to stimulate the information context by a digital camera selection contest, but embedded was a "MovieWorldShop" banner ad and a dummy computer product ad to stimulate a non-congruent banner ad and context relationship. The third website created was a movie web site to stimulate an entertainment context. Subjects in this site were asked to browse a new movie web site with various clips and pictures for entertainment. A "MovieWorldShop" banner ad and a dummy computer banner ad were embedded to stimulate a congruent banner ad and website context relationship. The fourth website was another entertainment context (movie clips and pictures) site with a non-congruent ad ("DigiCamShop" ad). The subjects were told that all products on the experimental web sites would be available for actual purchase. The summary of stimulus materials for each experimental group is as follows:

Group 1: Information task (digital camera selection)
with a congruent ad (digital camera shop ad)

Group 2: Information task (digital camera selection)
with a non-congruent Ad (movie shop ad)

Group 3: Entertainment task (movie clips and pictures)
with a congruent ad (movie shop ad)
Group 4: Entertainment task (movie clips and pictures)
with a non-congruent ad (digital camera shop ad)

Measures and Procedures

The online questionnaire consisted of eight parts. The first part of the online questionnaire was designed to check individual differences of respondents in terms of level of product use and familiarity (e.g., for digital cameras, "Do you have a digital camera?" "How frequently do you use your digital camera?" "How familiar are you with digital cameras?") Following this, to examine whether the information or entertainment context was successfully manipulated, the researcher included three 5-point Likert items measuring perceptions of the task (the task was information-oriented, entertainment-oriented, and involving). The second part of the questionnaire measured brand recall, employing the free recall measure first ("which advertiser do you recall seeing" with open ended) and then a cued recall measure ("which of the following advertisers do you recall seeing" with three decoys and one correct choice) to minimize demand characteristics or practice effects. For both measures, a correct response received +1 and an incorrect one received -1. The sum of these two measures was a total recall score. Following two recall measures, a message association measure was employed to examine branding effects ("which of the following was the tagline or slogan associated with brand X?"). Similar to the cued recall measure, there were three decoys (coded -1) and one correct answer (coded +1).

The third part of the questionnaire measured clicking of each banner ad by asking if participates clicked the ad they saw embedded in the site. The fourth part measured evaluations of the banner ads employing eleven, 7-point semantic differential scales, which include: unpleasant/pleasant, not fun to see/fun to see, not enjoyable/enjoyable, not important/important, not interesting/interesting, not informative/informative, not entertaining/entertaining, not useful/useful, boring/not boring, not helpful/helpful, and does not make me curious/makes me curious (Olney, Holbrook and Batra 1991). These multiple items composing the variable attitude toward a banner ad were subjected to a principal components factor analysis, using varimax rotation, in order to check the dimensionality of the items. A single factor was extracted, and the explained variance was 68%. Factor loadings for individual items varied from .72 to .90. Cronbach's alpha was found to be quite good (.87). The fifth part measured attitude toward the brand (bad/good, dislike/like, unfavorable/favorable, and low quality/high quality) with 7-point semantic differential scales. A principal components factor analysis for attitude toward the brand extracted a single factor with the explained variance of 63% and factor loadings for four individual items larger than .65. Cronbach's alpha for these four items was .78. The sixth part measured purchase intention with a 7-point semantic differential scale (unlikely/likely to make a purchase). The last part of the questionnaire regarded the demographic information and Internet usage of each subject.

Results

This study employed a 2 (information vs. entertainment) by 2 (congruent vs. incongruent) factorial design in which subjects were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. To eliminate the possibility that subjects in four conditions are different enough to influence the effects of the treatment, the researchers compared the groups in terms of their demographics, level of product use and familiarity, and Internet usage. The four groups were very similar in terms of age, gender, product usage, product familiarity and Internet use hours. Table 1 shows the results of a series of ANOVAs and chi-squares to compare the four groups. However, this study could not address the comparability of the non-responders to those who responded to the experiment, which would be important in establishing the overall validity of the sample.

Insert Table 1 about here

Manipulation Check

The manipulation check of information context (digital camera selection contest) vs. entertainment context (movie clips and pictures) was conducted using between-group t-tests. It was found, for three 5-point Likert items, the information context was perceived as more an information-gathering task (M=3.91 vs. M=2.89), less entertaining (M=2.76 vs. M=3.73), and more involving (M=4.03 vs. M=3.11) than the entertainment context ($p < .05$). Therefore, the two user-tasks were successfully manipulated.

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Hypotheses testing

The hypotheses of the current study state that task-congruent banner ads will be more effective than task-incongruent banner ads both in an information context (H1.1) and an entertainment context (H1.2) and that banner ads placed in an information context will be more effective than those placed in an entertainment context both for the task-congruent situation (H2.1) and the task-incongruent situation (H2.2). As dependent measures, this study examined brand recall, message association, self-reported click-through, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intention.

Brand Recall. Table 2 shows the results of ANOVAs for various advertising effectiveness measures by four experimental groups. The results show that the total recall score (sum of free recall and cued recall) of a task-congruent banner ad was higher than that of a task-incongruent banner ad in both an information context (M = .44 vs. M = .18) and an entertainment context (M = .32 vs. M = -.13). The result was statistically significant (p < .01). Therefore, H1.1 and H1.2, with regard to brand recall, are supported. Similarly, the total recall score of a banner ad placed in the information context was higher than that of a banner ad placed in the entertainment context in both the task-congruent situation (M = .44 vs. M = .32) and the task-incongruent situation (M = .18 vs. M = -.13). Therefore, H2.1 and H2.2, with regard to brand recall, are also supported (p < .01).

Message Association. Regarding message association, it was found that a task-congruent banner ad had a higher message association score than a task-incongruent banner ad for both the information context (M= .22 vs. M = .06) and the entertainment context (M= .10 vs. M= -.13) (p < .05). Similarly, the message association score of a banner ad placed in the information context was higher than that of a banner ad placed in the entertainment context in both the task-congruent situation (M = .22 vs. M = .10) and the task-incongruent situation (M = .06 vs. M = -.13). The result was statistically significant (p < .05). Therefore, with regard to message association, both H1 and H2 are supported.

Click-through Rate. A chi-square test was conducted to check the relationship between task-congruency and banner click-through. Table 3 reveals that a task-congruent banner ad yielded a higher click-through rate than a task-incongruent banner ad in both information (15.0% vs. 5.49%) and entertainment context (7.14% vs. 3.88%). Similarly, information context yielded a higher click-through rate than the entertainment context in both the task-congruent (15.0% vs. 7.14%) and the task-incongruent situation (5.49% vs. 3.88%). The result was statistically significant (p < .05). Therefore, with regard to click-through, both H1 and H2 are supported.

Attitude toward the Ad and the Brand and Purchase Intention. Index scores for attitude toward the ad and attitude toward the brand were calculated by averaging eleven 7-point semantic differential scales and four 7-point scales, respectively. As shown in Table 2, in the information context, the task-congruent banner ad received a higher attitude index score for the ad (M=3.83 vs. M=3.41), the brand (M=4.17 vs. M=3.61) and purchase intention (M=3.00 vs. M=2.31) than the task-incongruent banner ad. A similar pattern was found in the entertainment context (M=3.42 vs. M=2.94 for attitude toward the ad; M=3.60 vs. M=3.48 for attitude toward the brand; M=2.36 vs. M=1.72 for purchase intention). All results were statistically significant ($p < .05$). Therefore, the first stream of hypotheses (H1.1 and H1.2), with regard to attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intention, is also supported. Regarding the effects of information vs. entertainment contexts on attitude measures (H2.1 and H2.2), the results show that the banner ad placed in the information context received a higher attitude-toward-the-ad score (M=3.83) than the ad placed in the entertainment context (M=3.42) in the task-congruent situation. The same pattern was found in the task-incongruent situation (M=3.41 vs. M=2.94). Similarly, in the task-congruent situation, the ad in the information context had a more favorable attitude toward the brand (M=4.17 vs. M=3.60) and higher purchase intention (M=3.00 vs. M=2.36) than the ad in the entertainment context. A similar pattern was found in the task-incongruent situation (M=3.61 vs. M=3.48 for attitude toward the brand; M=2.31 vs. M=1.72 for purchase intention). The results were statistically significant ($p < .05$). Therefore, the second stream of hypotheses (H2.1 and H2.2), with regards to attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intention is also supported.

Insert Table 2 about here

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

Summary and implications

The current study was designed to understand task-induced contextual effects on congruent and incongruent banner ads embedded on the task websites. Most previous studies on advertising effectiveness employed a relatively small number of advertising effectiveness measures, focusing only on either memory, attitudes, or behavioral intentions. However, the current study employed six different measures of advertising effectiveness including memory (brand recall and message association), attitudes (attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand), behavioral intent (purchase intention), and self-reported behavior (click-through). Therefore, the results found in this study tend to be more reliable and valid, compared to the previous studies using only one or two measures.

As predicted, it was found that a task-congruent banner ad was remembered better and yielded a more favorable attitude toward the ad and the brand, higher purchase intention and click-through, compared to the task-incongruent banner ad (H1). This task-congruency effect was the same for both the information (H1.1) and entertainment situation (H1.2). The implication of this finding is that advertisers need to place banner ads in a more task-congruent manner, i.e., the ads that match well with the users' tasks on the Internet. For example, a user searching for a computer product may more favorably respond to a computer product ad, which is highly congruent with his/her task. This is true regardless of task types, either information or entertainment. A good example is a banner ad transmitted to a user that used a specific keyword in a search engine. The ad delivered this way is highly congruent with the user's task and

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tends to be very effective and expensive (MediaPost 2000).

The current study also found that people remembered better, clicked more, and responded more positively to an embedded banner ad when they were engaged in an information task rather than an entertainment task, in both the task-congruent (H2.1) and task-incongruent context (H2.2). This finding is consistent with previous ad context literature supporting the carryover/spillover hypothesis (Krugman 1983) and excitation transfer theory (Zillmann 1971), which provides external validity support for the current study. In other words, people are more likely to keep and transfer a similar level of program/editorial attention, affect, and/or liking to embedded advertising messages. The current study is, however, pioneering in its attempt to examine contextual effects of advertising using a newly defined context (information task vs. entertainment task) incorporated with task-congruency construct (congruency vs. incongruency) for a new medium, the Internet.

This study also suggests that an information-oriented ad (digital camera ad) can be most effective when placed in the information-congruent context (digital camera selection task), but least effective when placed in the entertainment context (movie clips and pictures). Meanwhile, for an entertainment-oriented ad (movie ad), the difference was not quite significant between the information context (digital camera selection site) and the entertainment context (movie clips and pictures). This result implies that the entertainment-oriented ad (movie ad) works equally for the information (digital camera selection) and entertainment context (movie clips and pictures), while the information-oriented ad shows a big difference between the information context (best) and the entertainment context (worst).

Limitations and suggestions for future research

A weakness of this study is that the subjects are not representative of general Internet users since they were drawn from the pool of people who subscribe to discussion LISTSERVs. It is believed that people who subscribe to discussion LISTSERVs tend to be more active and frequent users of the Internet than general Internet users. In addition, the number of sample subjects and sample banner ads was relatively small. Therefore, it would be valuable to replicate the current study with samples drawn from general Internet users other than LISTSERV subscribers and with an increased number of sample banner ads and subjects.

In this study, the researcher manipulated the task context employing only two dimensions of Internet uses (information vs. entertainment), but people use the Internet for many other reasons, e.g., companionship, socialization, etc. Therefore, it would be valuable to study task-induced contextual effects for a wide range of Internet usage types. Moreover, there is a chance that some variables are mediating and/or moderating the task-induced contextual effects examined in the current study, e.g., task-complexity, Internet skills, and time constraints. For example, in some cases, peoples' attention may be directed solely to the task without attention to ads and thus do not respond to the embedded ads, if the degree of task-complexity and time constraints are very high.

The Internet seems to have two different exposure types: 1) the same ad exposure level and 2) the different ad exposure level from editorial. The current study used the first type of ad exposure, the banner ad placed at the top of a web page. However, like television commercials, "interstitials" on the Internet—a pop-up ad that interrupts the Internet user on the user's screen or as a separate pop-up window—has a different ad exposure level from the editorial content (ads are not embedded on the same page with editorial content but displayed as a separate content between the editorials). Therefore, it would be interesting to study whether the same carryover/spillover effects will occur when the ad exposure level is different from editorial exposure level, i.e., the interstitials.

Table1
The Comparison of Four Experimental Subgroups

Variables	Group I (n=82)	Group II (n=96)	Group III (n=100)	Group IV (n=105)	Statistical tests
Age	31.8	32.6	31.2	32.6	F-ratio = 1.47
Gender (male/female)	43 / 38	51 / 45	53 / 45	55 / 50	X^2 = .50
Camera usage	3.06	2.99	3.00	3.24	F-ratio = .96
Camera familiarity	3.00	3.04	2.88	3.03	F-ratio = 1.22
Movie usage	3.78	3.89	3.92	3.77	F-ratio = 1.36
Movie familiarity	4.02	3.99	3.89	4.07	F-ratio = 1.03
Internet use hours per week	13.22	12.56	11.97	12.93	F-ratio = 1.97

NOTE.—Product usage and familiarity were measured by two 5-point semantic differential scales (rarely/frequently and unfamiliar/familiar). p > .05 for all statistical tests.

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Table 2
Effects of Context and Congruency on Advertising Effectiveness

Measures	Context	Congruency	Mean	SD	F-ratio
Total recall	Information	Congruent	.44	.95	5.99**
		Incongruent	.18	.94	
	Entertainment	Congruent	.32	.93	
		Incongruent	- .13	.97	
Message Association	Information	Congruent	.22	.89	2.89*
		Incongruent	.06	.79	
	Entertainment	Congruent	.10	.85	
		Incongruent	- .13	.83	
Attitude toward the ad	Information	Congruent	3.83	1.79	3.91**
		Incongruent	3.41	1.91	
	Entertainment	Congruent	3.42	1.78	
		Incongruent	2.94	1.78	
Attitude toward the brand	Information	Congruent	4.17	1.50	3.42*
		Incongruent	3.61	1.71	
	Entertainment	Congruent	3.60	1.42	
		Incongruent	3.48	1.63	
Purchase Intention	Information	Congruent	3.00	1.89	9.70**
		Incongruent	2.31	1.68	
	Entertainment	Congruent	2.36	1.62	
		Incongruent	1.72	1.32	

NOTE.—Asterisks indicate entries are significant at $^*p < .05$ or $^{**}p < .01$

Table 3
Task-Context, Task-Congruency, and Click-Through Rate

Context	Congruency	Click-through Rate (%)	Click-through Frequency	N	X^2
Information	Congruent	15.0%	12	80	8.94*
	Incongruent	5.49%	5	91	
Entertainment	Congruent	7.14%	7	98	
	Incongruent	3.88%	4	103	

NOTE.— $^*p < .05$ and degree of freedom is three.

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The Roles of Emotion and Cognition in Attitude Formation from a Product Trial Under Different Purchase Decision Involvement Conditions

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Abstract

Affective and cognitive responses to a product trial are examined in an experiment containing four cells representing two product types (hedonic and functional) and two involvement situations (low and high purchase decision involvement). The stimulus products were a computer game and grammar-checking software, and one hundred twenty five college students were sampled for the experiment. The specific affective responses studied were pleasure, arousal, and dominance; product cognitions are represented as the expectancy value from the brand attributes (sum of (brand beliefs × attribute evaluations)). Inconsistent with most past consumer research, this study found that affective responses play a major role in trial attitude formations under all experimental conditions in this study, which manipulated product types and involvements.

Background and Hypotheses

Consumer research literature has shown that attitudes formed from experiences such as product trials are more directly related to the brand beliefs and attitudes than those formed from the indirect experiences such as advertising (Fazio and Zanna 1978, 1981; Fazio, Zanna and Cooper 1978; Marks and Kamins 1988; Smith 1993; Smith and Swinyard 1982, 1983, 1988). In researching consumer's trial attitude formation, many researchers have examined the differential roles of emotional or cognitive responses in the evaluation process. Some studies have shown that affective responses are important outcomes of consumption that relate strongly to other post-consumption states, e.g., satisfaction (Havlena and Holbrook 1986; Mano and Oliver 1993; Oliver 1992; Richins 1997; Westbrook 1987; Westbrook and Oliver 1991). Others have argued that cognitive responses to product trials are important to the brand attitude formation (Marks and Kamins 1988; Smith 1993; Smith and Swinyard 1983, 1988). In addition, some past research has combined the roles of both emotion and cognition in the product trial evaluation process (Kempf and Smith 1998; Kempf 1999).

Although most research has demonstrated the positive roles of cognition and emotion in attitude formation via product trials, these studies have been criticized because they do not investigate the product trial in the context of the experimental design, but rather ask the subjects to recall their emotional or cognitive responses from past product experiences, leading to systematic biases (Dube and Morgan 1996; Kempf 1999). To address this issue, Kempf (1999) conducted an experiment that measured emotions and cognitions immediately following a trial experience. The research compared the trial responses (both emotional and cognitive) and product evaluation processes across two types of products, one hedonic and one functional in nature. Research into these two types of products has been conducted because product trials for different types of products (especially hedonic v. functional) are processed differently by consumers (Hoch and Ha 1986; Kempf and Smith 1998). Hedonic products are those consumed primarily for affective or sensory gratification purposes, and functional products deliver more cognitively oriented benefits (Woods 1960). Kempf showed that the functional product trial evaluation is influenced by both emotional and cognitive responses, while the hedonic product evaluation is influenced by the emotional response only. In fact, this result partially supports Kempf's original hypotheses: "[F]or the hedonic product, the effect of emotional responses on trial evaluations will be greater than the effect of cognitive structure, and for the utilitarian product, the effect of cognitive structure on trial evaluations will be greater than the effect of emotional responses."

One possible reason for this relative lack of support may be due to the fact that the research did not manipulate the level of the involvement. Batra and Stephens (1994) suggest that the amounts of roles of emotional and cognitive responses in shaping brand attitudes are different through different involvement conditions. They argue that affective responses will be more important as determinants of brand attitudes in low involvement situations than in high involvement situations. Conversely, Greenwald and Leavitt (1984) have argued that cognitive-response-based persuasion effects will dominate the affective-response-based persuasion in high involvement situations. However, recent studies have suggested that, when compared to cognitions, emotions are more predictive of the number and valence of people's thoughts toward objects under most conditions (Pham, Cohen, Pracejus, and Hughes 2001), and emotion has a direct, independent, stronger and significant effect on attitude over the cognition (e.g., Morris et al. 2002, Bodur et al. 2000, Edell and Burke 1987).

Although it has been argued that cognition mainly drives attitude over emotion (Fishbein and Middlestadt 1995), present research tends to focus more on the theories that view emotions as a main driver of attitude. In addition, the present research views involvement as a moderator of emotional and cognitive evaluation process. With this in mind, this study puts forth four hypotheses which argue that while emotional responses are a better predictor than cognitive responses in most involvement conditions, the relative importance of cognition can become just as significant in high involvement conditions.

H1: For the evaluation of a hedonic product in a low involvement condition, the effect of emotional responses on trial evaluations will be greater than the effect of cognitive structure.

H2: For the evaluation of a functional product in a low involvement condition, the effect of emotional responses on trial evaluations will be moderately greater than the effect of cognitive structure.

H3: For the evaluation of a hedonic product in a high involvement condition, the effect of emotional responses on trial evaluations will be moderately greater than the effect of cognitive structure.

H4: For the evaluation of a functional product in a high involvement condition, the effect of both the emotional and cognitive structure on trial evaluations will be equivalent.

Method

Two pretests and one main experiment were conducted. The purpose of the first pretest was to collect the important attributes that consumers would look for when they evaluated the products used in this study. The second pretest was a manipulation pre-check of purchase decision involvement. Details about the specific product selections and the purchase decision involvement manipulations will be discussed later.

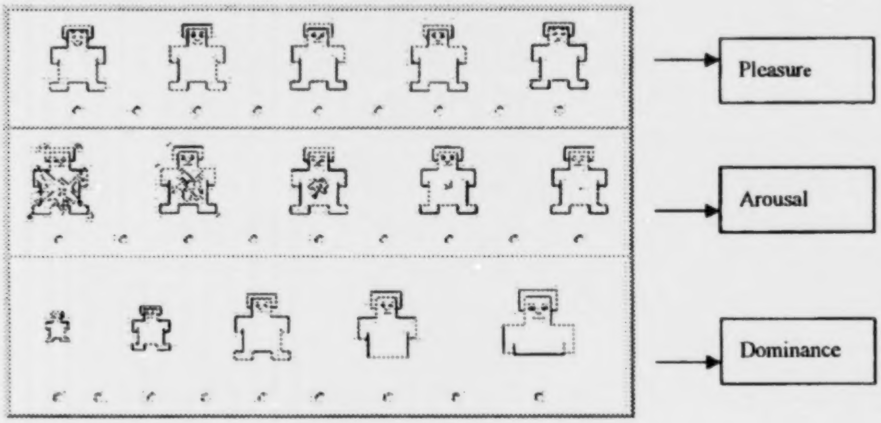
In the main experiment, subjects were randomly assigned to four experimental cells: Hedonic-Low involvement, Hedonic-High involvement, Functional-Low involvement, and Functional-High Involvement. The products selected for the experiments were grammar-checking software for the functional product and computer game software for the hedonic product. These products were used in Kempf (1999)'s study after extensive pretests that sought to show the difference in the stimulus products in terms of their hedonic or functional nature, but that would be similar in all other aspects that may affect trial processing. (See Kempf (1999) for a detailed review of product selection procedure.) The experimental procedure was identical across the conditions. All subjects were given a self-directed trial of one of the two software products, after which they answered a series of questions. Detailed written instructions on how to run the software was included in the questionnaire packet. The constructs measured after the trials include emotional responses, cognitive responses, and overall trial evaluations for the main test effect. To check for possible confounding, perceived trial diagnosticity, and the time spent on the trial experiences were measured. Furthermore, purchase-decision involvement, and a question regarding the subjects' perceptions of the hedonic or functional nature of the product were measured for the manipulation-check. Finally, to check for validity, the overall attitude toward the products was measured.

Measurements

Emotional Responses to Trial

To measure emotional responses to the trials, AdSAM, a nonverbal measurement of emotional response, which utilizes the Self-Assessment Manikin known as SAM, was used. SAM (Lang, 1980) measures pleasure, arousal, and dominance, the three dimensions of the emotional responses to one's environment (Mehrabian and Russell 1974), and has been adopted for in analyzing marketing, attributes, brand names and communications across cultures (Morris 1995). Although Kempf's study used only verbal scales of Pleasure and Arousal dimensions (based on Mano and Oliver's 1993 consumption experience study), the current study used all three dimensions of emotional response not only because are they all distinctive emotional dimensions (Mehrabian and Russell 1974), but also because they have been found to be reliable in measuring emotional responses of consumption experiences (Holbrook et al. 1984, Havlena et al. 1986).

Figure 1: AdSAM



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Perceived Diagnosticity

As a confound check, overall product-level trial diagnosticity was assessed via a single item scale by asking subjects: "Overall, how helpful would you rate the trial experience you just had in judging the quality and performance of the ___ software?" Subjects answered on a 1-9 scale ranging from "not helpful at all" to "extremely helpful."

Overall Trial Evaluation

The subjects' evaluation of the trial was measured via a three item semantic differential scale. The question was, "Overall, how would you rate this trial experience?" The end-points were labeled "Bad-Good, Unfavorable-Favorable, and Dislike-Like." These items were averaged to represent the overall trial evaluations. Kempf's study also used this scale and found it to be reliable ($\alpha = .95$).

Cognitive Response and Brand Attitude Measures

As past studies have used (Marks and Kamins 1988; Smith 1993; Smith and Swinyard 1983, 1988, Kempf 1999), Fishbein's (1975) expectancy value measures (ΣB_iE_i) that include attribute-level brand beliefs (B*i*) and attribute evaluations (E*i*) was used to measure the cognitive response toward the trial. The salient attributes for each product were determined by a free-elicitation technique as recommended by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). For instance, as a result from the same technique, Kempf used accuracy, the adequacy of the dictionary, ease of use, speed, and usefulness of hints for error corrections for the grammar-checking software. Although those attributes might be still appropriate to use, the current study re-collects the salient attributes because they might currently be different. Product related attribute beliefs (B*i*'s) were to be measured by asking subjects "How likely do you believe it is that ____ software has attribute __?" (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975) with a 9-point scale from "Zero likelihood" to "Completely certain." The evaluative component of the Fishbein model (E*i*) was measured by asking subjects how they would evaluate a brand that possesses each of the salient attributes. Though Fishbein's evaluative component scale is from Bad (-4) to Good (+4), this study used a scale from Fair (1) to Extremely good (9) because the attributes the subjects evaluated on the questionnaire were pre-studied positive attributes that the subjects would look for when they evaluated the products. Accordingly, including a negative range (e.g., -4) of the evaluative scale for the positively perceived attributes would be inappropriate.

Past research (Bennett and Harrell 1975, Smith and Swinyard 1988) has shown that the explanatory power of the Fishbein model is improved by including belief confidence. For this reason, prior ad/trial research including Kempf's study has used belief confidence in measuring the cognitive expectancy values. However, the present research did not include belief confidence in the cognitive construction, to preclude a possible multicollinearity between emotion and cognition measures, because the dominance dimension of emotional response can explain the confidence. Edell and Burke (1987) have also used "confidence" as a measure of feeling toward ads much in the same way that Mehrabian and Russell (1974) define dominance as the extent to which one feels unrestricted or free to act in a variety of ways.

Consistent with most studies (MacKenzie and Lutz 1989, Smith 1993, Kempf 1999), the attitude toward the brand was measured by a three-item semantic differential scale: "bad-good, unpleasant-pleasant, unfavorable-favorable." Although using the same scale endpoints for the brand attitude and trial evaluations measure may seem to diminish the discriminant validity between the measures of the two constructs, past research has shown that, as intended, they measure trial evaluations and brand attitude as separate constructs while they are correlated, indicating the importance of the trial evaluation construct in brand attitude formation (Kempf 1999).

Involvement Manipulation: Purchase Decision Involvement

Involvement has been one of the central issues in the consumer behavior literature because it can be an important mediator of consumer behavior, which can fundamentally influence the consumers' evaluation processes on certain objects (Mitchell 1981; Vakratsas and Ambler 1999). Objects studied frequently are, for example, message (Krugman 1966; Petty and Cacioppo 1981), product (Bowen and Chaffer 1974; Robertson 1976; Lastovicka 1979; Bloch 1981), and situation (Mitchell 1979). Among the several involvement objects studied, the behavioral or situational involvement such as purchase-decision involvement (Mittal 1989, Slama and Tashchian 1985, Laurent and Kapferer 1985) has been researched to explain the relationships between consumers' involvements and actual behaviors. For the present research, the purchase decision involvement is selected in manipulating the involvement conditions because the nature of the product trial would be more related to the situational involvement, i.e., the purchase decision involvement (PDI), defined as the extent of interest and concern that a consumer brings to bear upon a purchase-decision task (Mittal 1989).

In this study, manipulation of the PDI was conducted by giving subjects different hypothetical purchase situations. Different PDI situations for the four experimental conditions are shown in Appendix 1. The PDI scale items are shown in Appendix 2.

Pretest Results

Pretest 1

43 college students participated in Pretest 1. The salient attributes for each product were determined by a free-elicitation technique as recommended by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). Participants were asked to write down the attributes that would be important to them if they were buying (1) a grammar-checking or (2) computer-game software. Table 1 shows the five most responded salient attributes that the participants considered important. In selecting the five most mentioned important attributes, "entertaining" (23%) and "fun" (21%) were excluded from the computer game's salient attribute list because, they could cause a high multicollinearity with the Pleasure variable among the emotion measures.

Table 1. Salient attributes of software

Grammar Checker	%*	Computer Game	%*
Accurate correction	27.91	Graphics	32.56
Ease of use	23.26	Easy to play	18.60
Wide options of correction	20.93	Compatibility	16.28
Dictionary/thesaurus	18.60	Skill levels	11.63
Speed	13.95	Speed	11.63

* % of respondents (N=43).

Pretest 2

The second pretest was conducted with 16 subjects, and was used to pre-check the PDI manipulation before the main experiment. ANOVA showed the significant differences between the PDI conditions for each product. The mean difference of high and low PDI for the computer game = -2.5208, F (1, 30) = 23.627, p < .001; for the grammar checker = -1.895, F (1,30) = 9.954, p = .004).

Results of the Experiment

125 college students participated in the experiment employing a 2×2 (two products and two PDI conditions) design. Among them, 32 randomly selected subjects were assigned to the computer game under the low PDI experiment cell, 31 subjects into the computer game under the high PDI cell, 30 subjects into the grammar checker under low PDI cell, and 32 subjects into the grammar checker under high PDI cell. The computer game and the grammar-checker software were obtained from a demo-software download Web site (www.cnet.com). Both softwares were relatively new to the market at the time of this study, and both were released within one month of the time of the experiment. The newness of both softwares excludes any possible confounding effect due to prior attitude or outdated software technology.

Manipulation Checks

To verify the significant differences in perceptions of the products' functional versus hedonic nature, subjects were asked the following question: "Would you characterize this software as primarily a functional product or an entertainment/enjoyable product?" Using a 9-point scale, 1 was "primarily for functional use," and 9 was "primarily for entertainment use." As expected, a significant difference was found (F (1,123) = 380.972, p < .001). Subjects perceived the grammar checker as a functional product (M = 2.14, SD = 1.52) and the game as a hedonic product (M = 7.68, SD = 1.64).

As expected from Pretest 2, the main experiment also showed that the subjects perceived the two purchase decision involvement situations (low vs. high) significantly different. For computer game: high PDI mean =

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7.016, low PDI mean = 5.349, Mean difference = -535, F (1, 61) = 12.525, p = .001; For grammar checker: high PDI mean = 7.229, low PDI mean = 5.444, Mean difference = -1.784, F (1,60) = 21.767, p < .001).

Although significantly different from high PDIs, the means of the low PDIs were not as low as expected, most likely because of this study's low PDI manipulation situations, which assumed subjects to be initially "interested" in the product. This could slightly heighten the PDI up to a medium or marginally low level (5.349 and 5.444).

Confound Checks

Subjects perceived the trials of both the computer game and the grammar-checker to be relatively diagnostic. The confound check on the perceived diagnosticity was important in order to ensure that the trials of the two products did not differ considerably in subjects' acquired information value from the trials, given that past research has indicated that the level of diagnosticity influences trial processing (Hoch & Ha, 1986; Kempf & Smith, 1998).

The mean difference of perceived diagnosticity levels for the computer game (on a 1–9 scale) and the grammar checker in the low PDI were .5917 (F (1,60) = 2.383, p = .128). The mean difference of perceived diagnosticity levels for the computer game (on a 1–9 scale) and the grammar checker in the high PDI were .4516 (F (1, 60) = 1.068, p = .305). Comparison of the two product groups with combined PDI conditions showed the mean difference of .5207 (F (1,122) = 3.262, p = .073; mean for computer game = 6.619, mean for the grammar checker = 6.098)), implying no significant difference between the perceived diagnosticity of the two products.

The time spent on the trial experience was also measured to assure that subjects in one product or involvement group did not spend significantly more time on the trial than the other, again to prevent any possible confound effect from the time difference. An ANOVA showed no significant difference between each group (F (3, 121) = 1.646, p = .182; mean time for computer game in low PDI = 10.875 min., high PDI = 12.645 min.; for grammar checker in low PDI = 11.066 min., high PDI = 12.343 min.), indicating that the subjects in each group consumed a relatively equal amount of time on trials.

In addition, although the softwares were relatively new on the market, the subjects' were questioned about prior exposure to the test products to determine any pre-existing product attitude. One hundred percent (N = 125) of subjects responded they did not know or hear of the products before the trials began.

Hypothesis Testing

Regression analyses were conducted in which the trial evaluation measure was regressed on its independent variables: arousal, pleasure, dominance, and expectancy value from brand attributes ($\Sigma b_i e_i$). Separate regression equations were estimated for all four experimental conditions. Regression equations with standardized coefficients (significant coefficients are underlined) are shown below. The R^2 values for all equations ranged from 0.35 to 0.74, implying good model fits.

H1, Computer Game in a low PDI condition (Hedonic Product):

$(R^2 = .54, F_{4,27} = 7.56, p < .001)$

Trial Eval.	= .23 (Arousal)	+ $\underline{.42 \text{ (Pleasure)}}$	+ .00 (Dominance)	+ .27 ($\Sigma b_i e_i$)
	(t=1.48, p<.15)	(t=2.36, p<.03)	(t=0.02, p<.98)	(t=1.66, p<.11)

H2, Grammar Checker in a low PDI condition (Functional Product):

$(R^2 = .65, F_{4,25} = 11.46, p < .001)$

Trial Eval.	= .23 (Arousal)	+ .10 (Pleasure)	+ $\underline{.32 \text{ (Dominance)}}$	+ $\underline{.39 (\Sigma b_i e_i)}$
	(t=1.54, p<.14)	(t=.54, p<.59)	(t=2.19, p<.04)	(t=2.49, p<.02)

H3, Computer Game in a high PDI condition (Hedonic Product)

$(R^2 = .74, F_{4,25} = 17.76, p < .001)$

Trial Eval.	= .27 (Arousal)	+ $\underline{.58 \text{ (Pleasure)}}$	-1.72 (Dominance)	+ .27 ($\Sigma b_i e_i$)
	(t=1.99, p<.058)	(t=3.32, p<.00)	(t=-1.07, p<.29)	(t=1.73, p<.09)

H4, Grammar Checker in a high PDI condition (Functional Product)

$(R^2 = .35, F_{1,29} = 3.5, p < .02)$

Trial Eval.	= .04 (Arousal)	+ .26 (Pleasure)	+ .17 (Dominance)	+ .21 ($\Sigma b_i e_i$)
	(t=0.18, p<.86)	(t=0.84, p<.41)	(t=0.78, p<.44)	(t=0.86, p<.40)

H1 is supported because, for the hedonic product in low involvement, the only significant antecedent to trial evaluation was "pleasure," one of the emotional responses, and not the cognitive response from the brand attributes ($\Sigma b_i e_i$ - the cognitive structure resulting from the trial). As expected, compared to cognition, the affective response was significantly more effectual in driving the subjects' trial process when the product was hedonic in nature, and the situation was low involving.

H2 predicted that for the functional product in a low involvement condition, the evaluation process should be moderately more driven by emotional antecedents rather than cognitive ones. This hypothesis was partially supported by the regression results. It was found that subjects experiencing a trial of a functional product under the low involvement situation tend to focus on both emotional and cognitive responses toward the product. However, the difference of the coefficient size between the two significant variables was minimal (.07). The interesting point is that, along with the cognitive response, "dominance" was the only emotional dimension that significantly influenced the subjects' trial evaluation, indicating that consumers in this situation may focus on their feelings of "being-in-control," rather than a feeling of pleasure or arousal associated with the experience when they form a trial attitude. This is consistent with Mehrabian and Russel's (1974) findings, in which they describe dominance as an individual's feeling of being unrestricted or having freedom to act in a variety of ways. They also stated that the "stimuli which are rated as more intense, more ordered and powerful on the semantic differential are associated with a submissive feeling (i.e., negative extreme of dominance) for the person encountering them" (Mehrabian and Russell, 1974). Because the experimental environment of this cell was a low-involvement functional product purchase (less intense, less ordered, and less powerful in nature), subjects might feel more freedom of action, possibly leading to dominance being the major part of the trial attitude formation.

H3 is supported because, for the hedonic product in a high involvement condition, the only significant antecedents to the trial evaluations were the emotional responses rather than the cognitive responses. For the computer game, the cognitive responses ($\Sigma b_i e_i$) only marginally influenced the trial evaluation ($p <. 1$), and arousal also marginally influenced the subjects' trial evaluation ($p <. 058$). However, pleasure was a significant antecedent to the trial evaluations for the hedonic products. Though marginal, the significance of the cognitive response may be a result of the manipulated situation (the high PDI) which supports Greenwald and Leavitt's (1984) argument that cognitive-response-based persuasion effects would dominate the affective-response-based persuasion in high involvement situations.

H4 is only marginally supported because the coefficients of the emotion and cognition variables are similar in size, though all coefficients are not significant under the confirmatory regression analysis. A sequential search method, the stepwise method, was then used to examine the contribution of each independent variable to the regression model (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998). The stepwise method showed that pleasure was added first to the regression model ($R^2 = .307$, $\beta = .55$, $t = 3.58$, $p < .01$), but that other variables were excluded due to the lack of further contributions to the model. Since the product was functional in nature and the involvement was high, this result inversely supports our overall hypothesis that emotion (Pleasure, in this case) drives trial evaluation process over cognition, even in a situation such as this, which seems to be highly cognition-oriented.

Additional regression analyses were conducted with only product type distinctions to see if the results replicate Kempf's study. This time, the dominance dimension was excluded for the purpose of the identical replication. As discussed, past trial research did not include the dominance dimension. The results of the regression analysis were similar with Kempf's study:

Grammar Checker (Functional Product)

$(R^2 = .396, F_{3,57} = 12.437, p < .001)$

Trial Eval. = .10 (Arousal) + $\underline{.36\ (\text{Pleasure})}$ + $\underline{.25\ (\sum b_i e_i)}$

(t=.761, p=.45) (t=2.06, p<.05) (t=1.74, p=.08)

Computer Game (Hedonic Product)

$(R^2 = .659, F_{3,58} = 37.317, p < .001)$

Trial Eval. = $\underline{.24\ (\text{Arousal})}$ + $\underline{.48\ (\text{Pleasure})}$ + $\underline{.24\ (\sum b_i e_i)}$

(t=2.53, p< .05) (t=4.19, p<.001) (t=2.40 p< .05)

Kempf showed pleasure and cognition to be significantly influential predictors for the grammar checker, and arousal and pleasure for computer games. Our result (under Kempf's variable setting shown above) also supports these findings, which would enhance the test-retest reliability of our experiment. These results also imply that involvement can mediate the trial experience when processed differently as shown in the regression equations of the hypothesis tests. For example, grammar checker in the low PDI showed the "dominance" and the "cognitive response" as influential variables, but was changed to only "pleasure" when the situation was highly involving. Furthermore, this suggests that including the dominance dimension would produce a more accurate prediction of trial attitudes with the considerably increased R-squares.

A correlation analysis between the trial attitude and the product attitude was conducted. The result shows that the trial attitude for both products and both involvements were significantly highly correlated with the product attitude (r = .796 for computer game, r = .659 for grammar checker, r = .817 for low PDI, and r = .694 for high PDI; with all p < .001). As Kempf stated, this is consistent with past research that has shown that the product trial can be an important information source in product attitude formations (Fazio & Zanna, 1978; Smith, 1993; Kempf, 1999).

Implications

This study showed that affective responses play important roles in the formation of the product trial attitude under all circumstances studied in this research. On the contrary, when compared to past research, this study did not find any considerably distinctive role of emotion and cognition across the different product types (i.e., functional and hedonic) when the involvement was manipulated. Our result supports Pham et al.'s recent study that showed that affects are more stable and consistent across individuals, and more predictive of the number and valence of people's thoughts (Pham, Cohen, Pracejus, and Hughes 2001). In addition, although Kempf's study supported Mano and Oliver's (1993) study (which suggests that arousal is significantly related to hedonic evaluations of a product), our result indicates no significant role of arousal in trial attitude formations. Rather,

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our result suggests the very important role of "pleasure" across all experimental conditions. This is consistent with the view of Holbrook, who stated, "a significant portion of consumption behavior is motivated by hedonic enjoyment," (Holbrook et al, 1984). The feeling of pleasure as shown in our study may indeed process this.

The overall implications of this study for advertisers and marketing communication researchers and practitioners are that, when attempting to predict product or brand attitudes, they would need to collect both measures of affective and cognitive responses. In addition, when creating marketing communication messages (i.e., indirect product experience to consumers), it would be useful to consider the key role of emotion in most product types and involvement situations. Perhaps most importantly, when creating sales promotion campaigns (i.e., inducing more direct experiences such as "trial"), marketers would need to understand the major role of emotion as well as those different roles of emotion and cognition under different situations to make the promotion more effective and precise in persuading consumers.

This study synthesized and replicated past findings in the consumer research literature regarding cognitive and emotional responses to trials across product types, and extends them by comparing trial processing by different involvement situations. This study helps advance our understanding of information processing from product trials in two ways. First, it refines and replicates Kempf's study that examines the level and influence of both emotional and cognitive responses to trials of different product types (i.e., hedonic and functional) in an experimental setting where subjects actually experience a product trial, thus avoiding possible biases in recall of past emotions and cognitive memories. Second, emotional and cognitive trial responses are compared across different involvement conditions.

This research is not without its limitations. First, at this time, the results cannot be generalized to product types other than computer software or our particular type of the software. Second, although there was fairly extensive manipulation and confound checks, it might still be possible that other factors could impact the results. Third, sampling only college students quite obviously limits the ability to generalize to other populations. However, as Kempf (1999) stated, students may indeed be an appropriate sample for the software products used in this study because they are a frequent target market for software marketers. Fourth, although the within-cell sample size of 30-32 offered sufficient power to test the hypotheses, the overall sample size in the experiment was nonetheless small.

Future study involving a larger sample would allow a more sophisticated study. Structural equation modeling that combines the structural relationship among cognitive and affective responses, trial evaluations, and product attitudes under different involvement and product conditions would constitute a logical next step.

Appendices

Appendix 1. PDI Situations

- **Hedonic product/ Low PDI**

  You just saw small computer game software running on a display monitor while you were shopping for other products. The price of the software is $25. The store provides the 30-day no-question-asked return policy for this product only. Let's assume you became interested in this game software.

- **Hedonic product/ High PDI**

  You came to a store to buy small computer game software, a birthday present for your lovely niece! You have been searching for best software that best matches your niece's interest and you have finally found software that she would seem to like. Let's assume this product is your final choice among others in the local stores and the Internet shopping sites. Because the birthday party is tomorrow, you would have to buy this one, if it seems to be good fit. The price of the product is $25. Unfortunately, the store provides no return policy for this product.

- **Functional product/ Low PDI**

  You just saw grammar checking software running on a display monitor while you were shopping for other products. The price of the software is $25. The store provides the 30-day no-questions-asked return policy for this product only. Let's assume you became interested in this grammar checking software.

- **Functional product/ High PDI**

  You came to a store to buy grammar-checking software, a birthday present for your lovely niece! Because she just came to the US from a non-English speaking country, she has been asking you to find her nice English grammar-checking software as the birthday present for this year. Thus, you have been searching for the best software that best matches your niece's needs, and you have finally found software that she would seem to like. Let's assume this product is your final choice among others in the local stores and the Internet shopping sites. Because the birthday party is tomorrow, you would have to buy this one, if it seems to be good fit. The price of the product is $25. Unfortunately, the store provides no return policy for this product.

Appendix 2. The PDI scale

- Based on the situation you were given, in selecting this product from many other choices available in the market, would you say that: I would not care at all/ I would **care** a great deal. (1-9 scale).
- Based on the situation you were given, how important would it be to you to make a **right choice** of this product? Not at all important/ Extremely important (1-9 scale).
- Based on the situation you were given, how concerned would you be about the **outcome** of your choice in making your selection of this product? Not at all concerned/ Very much concerned (1-9 scale)

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Cross-Cultural Differences in Perceived Risk of Online Shopping

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Cross-Cultural Differences in Perceived Risk of Online Shopping

Abstract

This study investigates the perceived risk that can affect consumers' purchase decisions during online shopping. Specifically, this study identifies the differences in perceived risk between online shoppers and non-online shoppers, as well as between American and Korean Internet users. It shows that the perceived risk is higher for inexperienced online shoppers. It also shows that both American and Korean Internet users had a similar degree of perceived risk toward online shopping. However, there are significant differences between Americans and Koreans in terms of social, financial, time, and psychological risk. The main implication is that situational differences (online shopping experience) are associated with cultural differences (nationality) in explaining the perceived risk of online shopping.

Introduction

There is a little doubt that, in a considerably short period of time, the Internet has grown enormously in both its applications as well as the number of users. The great degree of adaptation of the Internet, coupled with its relatively unique characteristics of interactivity and personalization, increases the chances of innovative business strategies. One of the revolutionary changes brought forth by the Internet - online shopping - has become a viable threat to traditional shopping channels, such as retail stores and catalogs (Lohse and Spiller, 1998). According to *Ernst & Young's Annual Global Online Retailing Report* (2001), online shopping will represent 10 to 12 percent of all sales in apparel, health, and beauty, and as much as 25 percent of all sales for books, music, software, and consumer electronics by 2005. While the traditional "brick-and-mortar" shopping venues are restrained by time and space, the Internet has decreased the effort and time consumers spend on shopping (Bhatnagar et al., 2000). Furthermore, the Internet makes an unlimited range of products and services accessible for consumers all around the world (Quelch and Klein, 1996). That means people can buy or sell virtually anything at anytime from anywhere through online shopping. For this reason, Samiee (2001) declared the Internet to be "one of the most significant, and perhaps the greatest, marketing tools for the global marketplace" (p. 284).

Despite the significant growth and optimistic outlook for the future growth of online shopping, negative aspects are also becoming more associated with this alternative shopping method. For example, consumers are worried that the Internet still has very little security with respect to using their credit cards and disclosing personal information (Pallab, 1996). Consumers are also concerned about purchasing a product from "faceless" sellers and without physically examining the products. Therefore, it is assumed that people may feel a certain degree of risk when purchasing a product through the Internet. In other words, consumers may worry about the performance of the product they are trying to purchase, the possible loss of their time or money, and even other people's judgment of their purchase until they finally confirm the quality of the product.

According to Tan (1999), since the 1960s, there have been numerous studies designed to understand the concept of perceived risk and its impact on consumer behavior. As a result, various types of risks in making purchase decisions have been identified from ever expanding retail alternatives (Shimp and Bearden, 1982). The majority of research on risk has been at the level of the individual. This level is also the one for which notable cross-cultural studies have been conducted on the major area of interest (McDaniels & Gregory, 1991). Nonetheless, it still seems that few studies deal with such matters in the case of online shopping, even though millions of online transactions are managed on a daily basis all around the world (Watson et al., 2000). Moreover, cross-cultural research on perceived risk in online shopping also has been an underdeveloped field of inquiry. However, it is important to be aware of the existence of cultural differences in perceived risk of online shopping as global business transactions grow at an exponential pace on the Internet. On the other hand, it is also important to identify the differences in perceived risk between online shoppers and non-online shoppers, considering that more than half of Internet users still have not made an online purchase (Teichgraeber, 2001).

An underlying assumption of this study is that different individuals would have different levels of perceived risk, while consumers in different cultures might have differing perceptions of what deters them from shopping online. The main objectives of this study are to better understand the risk perceptions of consumers in online shopping and to investigate the cultural differences in perceived risk between American and Korean Internet users.

In this study, Korea was selected for a comparative analysis with the United States because this country provides the critical environment to do cross-cultural research in perceived risk of online shopping.

First, while broadband is available in all advanced Western countries, it has caught on in Korea twice as fast as in Canada, which has the second highest broadband penetration (Kirk, 2001). Broadband provides a favorable environment to use the Internet. Korea has 14 high-speed Internet subscribers per 100 residents. Second, based on the Business to Consumer e-commerce statistics, Korea is the second only to the United States in penetration rate of retail sales and Internet shoppers as a percentage of those at the working age (OECD Report, 2001). Third, Korea is a typical oriental culture, rich in tradition and values that are quite different from the West. Because of this, a comparison between countries with such distinct cultural traditions (the United States and Korea) provides an even more stringent examination of cross-cultural differences (Taylor et al., 1997).

The purpose of this exploratory study is to gain insights into how certain risk relievers affect buyers' willingness to purchase a product in online shopping, based on cultural perspectives. In the following section, previous risk perception studies will be reviewed to introduce several types of perceived risk in purchasing situations, especially those related to online shopping. In addition, cultural perspectives of perceived risk in shopping will be reviewed to lay the foundation for developing this study's hypotheses and methodology.

Literature Review

Perceived Risk

When buyers plan to purchase a product or service, they often hesitate to take action because they cannot be certain that all of their buying goals will be achieved with the purchase (Roselius, 1971). In other words, buyers may perceive a certain degree of risk in most purchase decisions (Cox and Rich, 1967). Dowling and Staelin (1994) defined the concept of perceived risk as "the consumer's perceptions of the uncertainty and adverse consequences of buying a product or service" (p.119). In attempts to identify the components of perceived risk, researchers have investigated consumers' perceived risks whenever new types of products or retail alternatives enter the stage of marketing (Tan, 1999). For instance, studies have investigated the perceived risks of telephone shopping (Cox and Rich, 1967), tangible product selection (Cunningham, 1967), services purchasing (Garner, 1986), direct marketing (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988), and online shopping (Tan, 1999). These studies show that risk perceptions in purchasing differ from either individual to individual or situation to situation.

Regardless of different situations for identifying perceived risk, numerous studies have argued that the following types of risk are usually involved in purchase decisions: social, financial, physical, performance, time, and psychological risks (Jacoby and Kaplan, 1972; Kaplan et al., 1974; Shimp and Bearden, 1982; Garner, 1986; Kim and Lennon, 2000). First, social risk refers to the perception that a product purchased may result in disapproval by family or friends (Dowling and Staelin, 1994). Second, financial risk is the perception that a certain amount of money may be lost or required to make a product work properly (Garner, 1986). Third, physical risk refers to the perception that a product may be dangerous to health or safety when it does not work properly (Roselius, 1971). Fourth, performance risk is the perception that a product purchased may fail to function as originally expected (Kim and Lennon, 2000). Fifth, time risk is the perception that time, convenience, or effort may be wasted when a product purchased is repaired or replaced (Bauer, 1967). Finally, psychological risk is the perception that a negative effect on a consumer's peace of mind may be caused by a defective product (AUTHOR ?).

Even though Jacoby and Kaplan (1972) said that these six types of perceived risk are independent from each other, researchers have shown that each type of perceived risk could be grouped in case of a certain type of product (Garner, 1986; Stone and Gronhaug, 1993). For instance, Garner (1986) examined the differences in perceived risk between types of products. Their results revealed that financial, psychological, and social risks significantly affect buyers' purchase decisions for tangible products, while time and financial risks were considered more important in the purchase of services.

On the other hand, with respect to the differences in perceived risk among several types of shopping channels, previous research showed that consumers fear a higher level of risk in the act of buying through non-store shopping than through "brick and mortar" stores or salespersons (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). This occurs because consumers have few chances to physically inspect products prior to a purchase (Cox and Rich, 1967); it is more difficult for consumers to return faulty products in non-store shopping (Spence et al., 1970); and consumers may feel uneasy about dealing with a "faceless" retailer in considering potential deception (Darian, 1987).

Perceived Risk of Online Shopping

Given that online shopping is a relatively new type of shopping method, significant changes must occur to encourage more consumers shop online. For this to happen, consumers must recognize that they would obtain a better deal from online shopping than from traditional shopping channels (Keeney, 1999). According to Alba et al. (1997), there are four positive factors that affect consumers' decisions to shop online: vast selection, screening, reliability, and product comparisons. First, people can buy virtually anything via the Internet just by typing in what they want. Second, most online shopping sites classify their listings into categories, subcategories, and even sub-subcategories to facilitate browsing and screening a large number of options (Hunt, 1999). Third, since the Internet is regarded widely as an interactive communication medium, the ratings and reputations of a certain online retailers are publicly visible to consumers. Finally, online shopping allows consumers to compare numerous alternatives and substitute products under a certain category, thereby encouraging greater price competition even for goods in limited supply (Rowley, 2000). Consequently, it is evident that online shopping is a more innovative, convenient way of shopping than traditional shopping channels (Szymanski and Hise, 2000).

However, there are also numerous factors that still make consumers uncertain about online shopping. Since online shopping incorporates many characteristics of non-store shopping, it is natural that online shopping shares some of the perceived risks of non-store shopping (Tan, 1999). For instance, the Internet, just like any type of non-store shopping, makes it difficult to examine physical goods; consumers must rely upon somewhat limited information and pictures shown on the computer screen (Jarvenpaa and Tractinsky, 1999). Moreover, there is bound to be much uncertainty regarding system security, reliability, standards, and some communication protocols (Turban et al., 1999). All these factors increase the perceived risk of online shopping so that more than half of Internet users still have not made an online purchase (Teichgraeber, 2001).

In an early attempt to identify the perceived risks of online shopping, Tan (1999) examined costs and benefits of in-store versus online shopping. The results showed that the perceived risk is higher when purchasing products through the Internet than by in-store means. However, this study did not delineate which type of perceived risk has the most affect on consumers' online shopping because only the average scores of both shopping methods were analyzed. With respect to specific types of perceived risk in online shopping, Bhatnagar et al. (2000) emphasized two types of risk in online shopping: product category risk and financial risk. Product category risk is associated with performance risk, which refers to a negative perception about the quality of a product (Kim and Lennon, 2000). Therefore, they argued that the risk is greatest when the product is technologically complex or the price is high. For example, the level of risk for buying books and music CDs was low, while the risk for electronics, computers, and cologne was high. On the other hand, financial risk includes both tangible and intangible assets of consumers. That means consumers are quite apprehensive not only about losing certain amounts of money but also about losing private information required in the transaction (Szymanski and Hise, 2000). Considering both benefit and risk factors of online shopping, Bhatnagar et al. (2000) said that the Internet is still considered a risky shopping channel. That means a considerable portion of consumers perceives that risks outweigh the advantages of online shopping in their purchase decisions.

Cross-Cultural Perspectives of Perceived Risk

Culture is a term with multidimensional interpretations (Weber and Hsee, 1998). According to Hofstede (1991), the term is defined as "the collective mental programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (p. 5). In other words, the individual members of a group share certain ideas, values, acts, or emotions with other members of the group (Mooij, 1997). In international marketing, culture is considered one of the most influential factors that affect consumers' motives, attitudes toward choices, intentions, and purchases on a global basis (Jarvenpaa and Tractinsky, 1999). Supporting this argument, Samiee (2001) even asserted, "the single most important factor that influences international marketing on the Internet is culture" (p. 297). Therefore, an understanding of the reasons why members of different cultures differ in perceived risk of online shopping should be crucial considering the rapid globalization brought by the Internet.

In most previous cross-cultural research, cultural differences often follow national boundaries (McDaniels and Gregory, 1991), and these differences are analyzed by a number of cultural dimensions, provided by Hofstede (1991). He identified four underlying dimensions of cultural values: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, and masculinity/femininity. Among the four major dimensions of cultural values, uncertainty avoidance was considered the most important cross-cultural perspective of perceived risk because this dimension mirrors a culture's tolerance or intolerance of uncertainty. According to Hofstede (1984), uncertain, ambiguous, risky or undefined situations are seen as threatening and to be avoided at all costs in a high uncertainty avoidance culture, while risk is considered a natural component of life that can often produce opportunity in a low uncertainty avoidance culture. In other words, cultures high in uncertainty avoidance would tend to be less risk-taking because they are motivated by a fear of failure or loss (Bontempo et al., 1997). Such an interpretation of uncertainty avoidance indicates that this cultural dimension should affect perceived risk more for people from cultures with greater scores on uncertainty avoidance. According to the classification of Hofstede (1991), Korea was identified as a relatively high uncertainty avoidance country, ranked 17th among the 53 countries. On the other hand, the United States was identified as one of the lowest uncertainty avoidance countries, as this country ranked 43rd among the 53 countries. Thus, it can be assumed that cross-cultural differences in the uncertainty avoidance index would affect the differences in perceived risk of online shopping between the two countries.

Research Hypotheses and Questions

This study extends previous research on measurements of perceived risk by examining how buyers' perceived risks could be differentiated according to experiences in online shopping. In addition, it takes into account differences in perceived risk between the United States and Korea.

According to Tan (1999), buyers consider a variety of risks when making a choice among several retail alternatives. In many situations, buyers do not use a certain choice of retailer unless they feel confident in fulfilling all of their buying goals through the retailer. This assumption can be applied to online shopping situations; consumers, only with a lower level of perceived risk for this shopping method, will be more motivated to purchase a product or service through online. Therefore, it was expected that those who have already had online shopping experiences (i.e., either purchasing a product or service), would perceive different levels of perceived risk for online shopping than those who have not. In this study, online shopper was operationalized as a person who had shopped online at least once during the recent one-year period. Based on this assumption, the following research hypothesis was advanced:

> *H1: Online shoppers will show a lower level of perceived risk toward online shopping than will non-online shoppers.*

This hypothesis will be tested for a combined set of samples from both countries in order to view the universal difference in online vs. non-online shoppers for the perceived risk on online shopping. Although differences in other external factors between two countries (such as Internet penetration, history of online shopping industry, laws and regulations on online shopping business, etc.) might confound our hypothesis, we assume there was no critical confounding effect in our test because Korea and the U.S. could be viewed similar in these external factors (except for the culture) according to the various recent studies (e.g., OECD Report, 2001).

Once the universal difference was found, risk perception difference in online shopping by cultures (i.e., between the US and Korea) was studied to test the second hypothesis. Bontempo et al. (1997) said that a cultural difference in uncertainty avoidance, which also means a variation in relative emphasis on risk of failure, might also result in a certain level of difference in the perception of risk. Therefore, it was also expected that people from a high uncertainty avoidance culture (like Korea) would perceive different levels of perceived risk for online shopping than those from a low uncertainty avoidance culture (like the United States). Based on this assumption, the following research hypothesis was advanced:

> *H2: American Internet users will perceive a lower level of risk for online shopping than will Korean Internet users.*

Method

The data for this study was collected via a self-administered questionnaire, which has been useful for analyzing perceived risk (Akaah and Korgaonkar, 1988). Prior to data collection, a pretest was conducted to set up a hypothetical purchasing situation based on Tan's (1999) study. In the pretest, twenty subjects (ten Koreans, ten Americans) evaluated a number of products (e.g., a notebook computer, scanner, music CD, and software) based on their perceived risks. From the pretest, the hypothetical situation of online shopping for this study was established as "purchasing a scanner at a reputable shopping site." The exploratory survey revealed that a scanner is a relatively medium-involved product among the subjects from both countries. The medium-level-involved product was ideal for our study because it provided non-confounded measures of risk perception on online shopping. If the product was too high or low in its involvement level, our results regarding the risk perception of online shopping might generate confounded results due to the extremity of product involvement. After setting up the hypothetical purchasing situation of online shopping, the main survey questionnaire was developed to identify the perceived risks of online shopping.

For a dependent variable in this study, multi-item scales were constructed to measure the perceived risk of online shopping. Based on the measurement method of Garner (1986), a list of six risk components was used to measure the degree of perceived risk when purchasing a product online: social, financial, physical, performance, time, and psychological risks. After data collection, an ANOVA was conducted to determine the significant differences in perceived risk between online shoppers and non-online shoppers as well as between American Internet users and Korean Internet users.

In order to construct a Korean version of the questionnaire, a translation and back-translation method was adopted in this study (Brislin, 1986). Bilinguals translated the questionnaire, originally written in English, into Korean. Then, different bilinguals translated the Korean-written questionnaire into English again. Finally, the first and second versions of the English questionnaire were compared, and any discrepant questions were corrected.

Data Source

College students who have used the Internet were asked to participate in the survey. The sample consisted of 201 students from a large southeastern university in the US, among which 192 were usable for the analyses of this study. In addition, another survey was conducted at a large university in Korea, with a translated version of the questionnaire. A total of 167 Korean college students participated in this study, and 155 of the questionnaires were usable. For the survey sample, the college student group was considered acceptable due to the fact this group represents a significant portion of the Internet population in both countries. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 34 in the United States, and ranged from 18 to 27 in Korea. The median age was 21 for the American subjects, and 20 for the Koreans. After gathering the data, the respondents were classified into one of two groups, online shoppers and non-online shopper. Among the total respondents, 57 (29.7%) of 192 students were classified as online shoppers in the United States and 42 (27.1%) of the 155 students in Korea. In this study, online shoppers were operationalized as those who have made at least one online purchase for any product or service during the recent one-year period. A brief description of the respondents of both countries is presented in Table 1.

Perceived Risks of Online Shopping

Respondents were asked to express their level of agreement with Garner's (1986) six item statements about the perceived risks under the hypothetical purchasing situation of online shopping. Initially, each statement was derived from the aforementioned six components of perceived risk. The statements were: "If I purchase a scanner from a reputable Internet shopping site," (1) "the product might fail to perform to my satisfaction." (*Performance Risk*); (2) "my friends or relatives will judge my purchase." (*Social Risk*); (3) "I might lose my money." (*Financial Risk*); (4) "the product might cause danger to my health or safety."(*Physical Risk*); 5) "I might waste my time or effort getting the product repaired or replaced." (*Time Risk*); and (6) "the purchase might have a negative effect on my peace of mind." (*Psychological Risk*).

Although perceived risks are different among individuals with diverse demographic and psychographic backgrounds (Roselius, 1971), these six statements were intended to cover most of the perceived risks of consumers. A seven-point scale was used ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) about each statement, with 7 representing the highest perceived risk, and 1 indicating the lowest perceived risk for each risk statement. The mean of the total risk index indicated the degree of perceived risk of each respondent under the given hypothetical purchasing situation. The mean of the total perceived risk index was 4.17 (SD = .81) in the United States and 4.21 (SD = .81) in Korea. The six-item perceived risk index had a .83 internal reliability alpha coefficient in the United States and a .89 in Korea (Table 2).

Results

In order to verify the research hypotheses and question, the data was analyzed in the following stages.

First, a one-way ANOVA was used to test H1 (whether any significant difference exists in the perceived risk between online shoppers and non-online shoppers). Then, H2 (differences of risk perception between the American Internet users and the Korean Internet users) were also examined.

Perceived Risks between Online Shoppers and Non-Online shoppers

The results of the one-way ANOVA comparisons for the two groups, online shoppers and non-online shoppers in both countries, on the perceived risks of online shopping are presented in Table 3. In order to specify the differences as well as the similarities between the two groups, the mean scores of each of the six types of perceived risk along with the perceived risk index were also compared in this analysis. The result of the ANOVA indicated that a significant difference existed in the perceived risk index between the two groups (i.e., online and non-online shopper groups) (F (1,346) = 17.151, p < .001). As expected, non-online shoppers viewed online shopping riskier than online shoppers did. Therefore, H1 was strongly supported by this analysis. Specifically, according to the comparison of each mean score for the six types of perceived risk between the two groups, three out of the six types of perceived risk showed statistical significance at .01 level. Therefore, non-online shoppers perceived a higher level of perceived risk toward online shopping in terms of financial, time, and psychological risks. That means those who have not used online shopping seemed to be more concerned about the possible loss of their money, time, and peace of mind due to a bad transaction at an online shopping site than online shoppers.

Perceived Risks between American and Korean Internet users

Hypothesis 2 was not supported in this study. The influence of nationality on perceived risks showed no significant difference in the perceived risk index between the two countries, even though the Korean Internet users displayed a slightly higher level of perceived risk toward online shopping (F (1, 346)

= .188, $p > .05$). However, four out of the six types of perceived risk showed statistical significance at the .05 level. As shown in Table 3, Korean Internet users felt a higher level of social risk toward online shopping, while the American Internet users had a higher level of perceived risk in terms of financial, time, and psychological risk.

This result implies that the performance and physical risk items are more related to the evaluation of product itself rather than shopping channel evaluation. In other words, people may feel three types of risks (instead of six) toward the shopping channel or method. Second, based on the fact that Korean subjects were more concerned with the social risk when purchasing online, this study suggests that cultural differences in perceived risk might be also affected by the individualism/collectivism dimension because, as members of a socially-collectivist culture, Korean Internet users may care more about how family or other in-group members view their purchases. On the other hand, it was also assumed that in individualist cultures like the United States, a person making a risky decision would be expected to personally deal with all the possibly adverse consequences of their purchase in online shopping. Therefore, American Internet users seemed to be more worried about the possible loss of their money, time, and peace of mind. In spite of the differences between the two countries, both groups showed the highest perceived risk in terms of performance risk.

Discussion

This study showed a significant difference in the perceived risk of online shopping. Those who have not experienced online shopping had a higher level of perceived risk than those who have purchased a product online. This study also showed that both American and Korean Internet users had a similar degree of perceived risk toward online shopping. The lack of a significant difference between the two countries implies that there might be no general tendency for the Internet users of the two countries to perceive risk in systematically different ways. Given that differences in perceived risk are affected by individual, situational, or cultural factors (Weber and Hsee, 1998), this study also contributed to better understanding of how situational differences (online shopping experience) are associated with cultural differences (nationality) in explaining the perceived risk of online shopping.

With respect to understanding consumers in regards to utilizing the Internet as an alternative shopping venue, this study showed that online shopping is still considered as a risky proposition in spite of its numerous purported benefits. This implies that Internet marketers involved in an online shopping business should try to attract potential consumers by emphasizing security factors that can alleviate the anxiety of new consumers, while consistently informing existing consumers about the advantages of online shopping, such as a wide selection of items, competitive prices, and convenience.

However, these strategies alone are not enough to reduce the consumers' perceived risk as long as consumers cannot physically assess a product before a purchase from the Internet. Therefore, it is suggested that Internet marketers also present more thorough information about their products or services by maximizing the effects of Internet resources such as graphics, videos, and customer interactions. For instance, virtual views of 3D images to illustrate product features, enhanced speed of presenting video or audio presentations, and more interactive consumer services by online shopping sites can allay a significant portion of consumers' perceived risk of online shopping. However, marketers should also take their consumers' technological level regarding Internet usage (e.g., use of high-speed internet line) into consideration when developing such complicated and more attractive sites. If the manner in which information is presented in cyberspace begins to approach the way consumers experience the traditional brick-and-mortar shopping venues, consumer's perceived risk will be reduced, and their intent to purchase from online shopping sites will be improved.

This cross-cultural study suggests that marketers need to address different concerns that consumers in different country or culture might have. In our study, Korean subjects showed higher risk perception on social risk, while Americans showed higher risk perception on other factors such as time, financial, and psychological risk. However, product-related risk factors such as performance and physical risk were not significantly different between both countries. This implies that, to maximize their effectiveness, marketers need to address these concerns country to country. Based on this result, future research may only need non-product-related risk items to clearly and parsimoniously study risk perceptions on shopping channels.

This study has some limitations that need to be considered. First, since college students participated in this study, it might be argued that the effect of a relatively younger age or more education might reduce cultural differences between the two countries. Second, this study set up a hypothetical purchasing situation of online shopping. Thus, the hypothetically assumed situation might be different from real-world situations. Finally, this study measured cross-cultural differences based on national boundaries. Although using a country as a surrogate for culture was common in previous cultural studies (Jarvenpaa and Tractinsky, 1999), it might ignore the possibility that within-country cultural differences may indeed be greater than across-country cultural differences. Therefore, future research needs to consider the consequences or effects of such variations possibly caused by the above limitations.

The Internet simply widens the transactions between merchants and consumers to a global scale without any physical boundaries (Samiee, 2001). Therefore, it is suggested that more research is required in order to understand the cross-cultural differences in online consumer behavior as well as to identify appropriate Internet roles to address the differences. A growing understanding of cultural differences will hopefully serve to make the Internet a more friendly, easily understood, and viable global shopping medium in the future.

Appendices

Table 1.Description of the Respondents

	United States	Korea
Total Respondents	192	155
Range of Age	18-34	18-27
Mean Age	22.07 (SD=3.57)	20.27 (SD=1.92)
Median Age	21	20
Gender Distribution	Male (50.0%) / Female (50.0%)	Male (49.7%) / Female (50.3%)
Online Shoppers	57 (29.7%)	42 (27.1%)
Non-Online Shoppers	135 (70.3%)	113 (72.9%)

Table 2. ANOVA Comparing the Perceived Risk of Online Shopping between the American and the Korean Internet users

	Overall	American	Korean	Overall F
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Perceived Risk Index	4.19	4.17	4.21	(.188) .665
Performance Risk	5.96	6.01	5.91	.585 (.445)
Social Risk	3.35	2.45	4.45	165.984 (.000)
Financial Risk	5.39	5.56	5.19	5.829 (.016)
Physical Risk	2.54	2.43	2.68	2.549 (.111)
Time Risk	4.76	5.04	4.41	13.191 (.000)
Psychological Risk	3.13	3.55	2.62	29.389 (.000)

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Table 3. ANOVA Comparing the Perceived Risk of Online Shopping between Online Shoppers and Non-Shoppers

	Overall	Online Shoppers	Non-Shoppers	Overall F
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Sig.
Perceived Risk Index	4.19	4.30	3.91	17.151 (.000)
Performance Risk	5.96	5.87	6.00	.912 (.340)
Social Risk	3.35	3.26	3.38	.314 (.576)
Financial Risk	5.39	5.06	5.53	7.997 (.005)
Physical Risk	2.54	2.43	2.59	.788 (.375)
Time Risk	4.76	4.11	5.02	22.676 (.000)
Psychological Risk	3.13	2.73	3.29	8.559 (.004)

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations for Each Cell on the Perceived Risk Index

	Online shopping experience	
	Online Shoppers	Non-online shoppers
American Internet Users	3.76 (.97)	4.35 (.66)
Korean Internet Users	4.12 (.85)	4.24 (.80)

* Standard deviations are in parentheses.

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The Use of Relationship Marketing Strategy In Media Advertising Sales

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Abstract

Customer relationship marketing and management is a business strategy designed to assist in the development and maintenance of mutually satisfying relationships between an organization and its customer base. It differs markedly from earlier customer contact strategies in that it focuses on the share of customer mindset, rather than on the share of market mindset; it produces unique learning relationships that get more intelligent with every transaction; it utilizes these learning relationships as a barrier to entry by other competitors; and it advances the idea that the level of customer investment should correlate with the measure of customer worth to the organization.

Relationship marketing is currently being practiced in both the business-to-consumer and business-to-business environments. The level of relationship marketing strategy integration in the media advertising sales function has been qualitatively examined, and an initial base of support and execution has been found to exist. However, there are unexploited opportunities for relationship marketing strategy growth, development, and deployment in this organizational sector.

The Use of Relationship Marketing Strategy in Media Advertising Sales

Introduction

Relationships have always been a component of marketing and advertising, although building a customer bridge took different forms throughout the 20th century. Organizations used various methods such as price, market segmentation, and service to make their customer connections (Buttle, 1996). The key constant, though, was that it was always the organization initiating the contact. In terms of communication theory, the emphasis was always on the sender and the sender's message. Little emphasis or notice was even given to the receivers or their corresponding messages.

Relationship building is now taking a new path in the 21st century marketplace, where conducting customer dialogue is the currency of the day. Intimate, detailed knowledge about individual customers is being used to guide focused advertising and marketing strategies around the world. This newest evolution in relationship-based marketing is a direct result of more intense competition now realized on a global scale, more intense market fragmentation, more demanding customers, generally higher product-quality levels achieved across the board that force companies to seek competitive advantage through other means, and rapidly changing consumer buying patterns fueled by technological advances in the Internet and e-commerce (Buttle, 1996). To be competitive in this new world economy, companies must focus less on managing customers and more on managing themselves to build longer, stronger, and more profitable relationships (Peppers & Rogers, 2000).

Customer relationship marketing and management is neither a concept nor a project (Brown, 2000), but a business strategy designed with the customer in mind. Companies must adapt their strategic, process, and technological systems to make customer dialogues possible. Marketing is no longer just about developing, selling, and delivering a product, but rather the marketing function must now also develop and maintain mutually satisfying relationships (Buttle, 1996).

The impact of the customer relationship focus is being felt across the marketplace spectrum from packaged goods and professional services to telecommunications and business-to-business offerings. In the mass media industry, the effects have been twofold. First, traditional mass media advertising vehicles are not necessarily very adaptive to customer relationship marketing and management practices (Handen, 2000). These vehicles were created by and sustained through their ability to deliver a single message to undifferentiated audiences, which is what a marketplace built on the provision of mass goods needed (Schultz, 1999). Now, one message does not fit all (Handen, 2000) as the mass of many has become the mass of one. Thus, mass media advertising will have to establish itself as a still-relevant, still-viable, and still-feasible choice for relationship-based marketing strategies.

Furthermore, media advertising sales departments must come to terms with what customer relationship marketing and management means to them in the course of their own best business practices. If media advertisers are working to develop customer dialogues and learning relationships with their own customer bases, might not these advertisers expect the same customer-focused efforts to be directed toward them in this business-to-business environment we call media advertising sales? Are media sales organizations prepared to adopt this customer-focused business strategy that has taken other industries by storm? Or do they even recognize its presence and possibilities? This paper explores the concepts behind customer relationship marketing and management and the levels of strategy integration in the media advertising sales function.

Origins of the Relationship Marketing Concept

The definitions associated with marketing in the 20th century typically reflected a traditional and transaction-oriented viewpoint (Buttle, 1996). Both the American Marketing Association and the Chartered Institute of Marketing offer no written explicit recognition of customer value from a long-term perspective. Instead, the organizations focus, in their respective marketing definitions, on the "exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives" (Buttle, 1996, p. 2) or "satisfying customer requirements profitably" (p. 2). Classical marketing models constructed in the early 1960s made use of the work of Borden (1964), who isolated 12 factors said to stimulate or influence consumer demand. These were distilled down to the Four Ps: product, price, place, and promotion (McCarthy, 1975).

Critics said that these models and assumptions were not appropriate for service or industrial-sector marketing. These industries relied heavily on relationships with customers that were typically ongoing and of great importance to a company's survival (Peck, Payne, Christopher, & Clark, 1999). Marketing academicians did acknowledge the prospect of long-term buyer and seller relationships in the late 1960s as the role of exchange became a core concept of the marketing discipline (Halinen, 1997). By the late 1970s, exchange relationships were the focus of much marketing research. Bagozzi (1975) argued that the processes constituting the creation and resolution of exchange relationships should be the core subject matter of marketing. Arndt (1979) went even further and argued that the existence of long-term relationships should be identified in marketing theory development.

Relationship marketing became a tangible concept in the 1980s as several different areas within the marketing discipline began to explore different facets of it. The actual term can be traced back to the services-marketing literature and Gummeson (1979), who introduced a buyer-seller interaction model for professional services. Gronroos (1980, 1982) identified a three-stage life-cycle model of customer relations. Both models examined only the early stages of relationship-building and describe relationships as separate exchange events (Halinen, 1997).

The industrial-marketing literature holds the actual origin of the idea behind relationship marketing (Peck et al., 1999). Guillet de Monthoux proposed a relationship development model in 1975 in which industrial markets were characterized by stable buyer-seller relationships (Halinen, 1997). The Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group initiated the interaction approach to marketing in its sector. The approach was depicted in a model by Ford (1982) that viewed relationship development from a life-cycle focus. Yet Ford and Rosson (1982) later questioned the life-cycle description when their data showed business relationships to be at various phases – growing, inert, or static – regardless of their age.

Other proposals broadened the research paradigm and looked at relationship development in marketing from the temporal, social-psychological, and business process perspectives (see Frazier, 1983; Wilson & Mummalaneni, 1986; and Dwyer, 1987). The relationship marketing concept that unfolded throughout the 1980s was one of developing and cultivating longer-term and mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and a defined consumer or industrial group (Peck et al., 1999).

The concept was broadened by Christopher, Payne, and Ballantyne (1991), who advanced the idea that internal marketing must play a role in supporting external relationships. Their relationship marketing model joined an organization's internal markets with the five external markets of customers, employee recruitment, suppliers, influencers, and referrals (Peck et al., 1999). Customer satisfaction and loyalty are established by providing superior customer value throughout the organization and beyond. This extended the relationship marketing concept beyond the supplier-customer dyad. Other models originating from this broader perspective soon followed. Kotler (1992) advanced his total marketing framework that put suppliers, distributors, end users, and employees as corporate assets rather than costs. Morgan and Hunt (1994) envisioned ten discrete interactive relationships within the marketing function with all activities directed toward establishing, developing, and maintaining successful relational exchanges, while Doyle's (1995) model examined ten dyadic relationships between the organization's core and network partners. All of these models positioned the internal market as the essential element for relationship marketing and specified that vertical relationships with suppliers and customers must also be developed and maintained.

Relationship Marketing in the Business-to-Consumer Environment

The rise of relationship marketing in the 1990s coincided with the reshaping of organizational structures. Both trends were responses to the changing economic landscape as competitive pressures, global in magnitude, forced organizations to become more responsive and, thus, more flat in composition (Peck et al., 1999). Four consumer marketing trends became pervasive in the late 1990s: limited sectors of growth, changing channels of distribution, changing perceptions of value, and time poverty (Newell, 1997).

U.S. census reports have shown that America has entered its slowest population growth cycle since the 1930s (Newell, 1997). The retail sector is "overstored, overcategorized, overmalled, and overbranded" (p. 11). Consumers have gained access to numerous channels in which to conduct business, with the traditional manufacturer-retailer-consumer channel receiving less utilization than in years past. Value systems, other than just low price, have begun operating in the consumer's mind. Consumers have reported shopping for what they needed when they needed it and not just when it was on sale. In essence, customers became more impulsive in their purchasing decisions because of time constraints, yet they looked for organizations that demonstrated an understanding of their personal needs and for products that demonstrated worth (Newell, 1997).

The transaction-oriented model of traditional marketing did not mesh well with these business organizations that now pursued organizational specialization and flexibility to meet changing consumer mindsets. Traditional marketing relied on short-term approaches that did not serve either the customer's best interests or the organization's interests because it cost more to attract new customers than it did to retain existing ones (Buttle, 1996).

As organizations sought competitive advantage in the marketplace of the late 1990s, it became apparent that improved efficiency, product quality, and price were just not enough anymore to ensure success because competitors could possibly duplicate any advances made in these areas. But an enduring relationship with a customer cannot be duplicated, making such a relationship a unique and sustainable competitive advantage (Buttle, 1996).

Peppers and Rogers (2000) stated "relationships will surround and define every aspect of business planning in the 21st century." By utilizing a customer-driven business model, organizations can create customer-learning relationships that get more advanced or smarter with every transaction (Peppers & Rogers, 1997). These relationships assist in customer lock-in and retention, because it is in the customer's self-interest to remain connected to the organization. It is simply more convenient to be loyal than to defect, for defection implies having to start all over again with another organization. This cultivated relationship becomes an insulating force against competitors known as a barrier of inconvenience. The barrier keeps the customer from wanting to interact with another competitor, even one who has also adopted a customer-focused business strategy.

Peppers and Rogers' (1997) definition of relationship marketing known as "one-to-one" has asserted that customer-driven organizations must integrate their entire range of business functions around satisfying the individual needs of each customer. This requires altering the organizational structure, not just attaching a one-to-one philosophy to individual parts of the organization such as only the marketing department or sales department. Buttle (1996) stated that a supportive organizational culture, successful internal marketing, an understanding of customer expectations, a sophisticated customer database, and a new organization and reward structure are all prerequisites to a successful relationship marketing program.

Brown (2000) has also acknowledged the internal organizational changes that need to occur before relationship marketing and management can begin. In addition, he stated that, even though customer relationship management must be tailored to fit both specific industries and market segments within those industries, there are still key concepts applicable to all marketplace members. These concepts are to define a customer strategy, create a channel and product strategy, and develop an understanding of the importance and applications of integrated informational infrastructures.

Rather than sell one product at a time to as many customers as possible, one-to-one marketers use customer databases, interactive communications, and customized production to sell one customer at a time as many products and services as possible during the course of the customer's relationship with the organization (Peppers & Rogers, 1997). Newell (1997) has identified this trend as making customers instead of making sales.

Traditional marketing uses the market share metric, while one-to-one marketing uses the customer share metric (Peppers & Rogers, 1997). This evolution of the relationship marketing concept was made possible by the introduction of three important technological capabilities. First, customer tracking via computer databases allows business organizations to remember and track individual and aggregate transactions. Second, interactive dialogue through the computer allows customers to talk to business organizations. Third, mass customization of products and services is now routinely available through computer interfaces with assembly line and logistical systems. Peppers and Rogers (1997) have pointed out that the integration of these three capabilities allows the business organization and the customer to determine what it means to participate in a commercial relationship.

Two strong business organization benefits of relationship marketing and management are reduced customer contact costs and profitable and sustainable revenue growth (Brown, 2000). Customer contact and dialogues are best conducted through multi-channel environments ranging from call centers and Internet sites to distributors and dedicated bricks-and-mortar locations. Knowing their customers allows organizations to integrate the right multiple channels at optimal cost (Brown, 2000). Profitable and sustainable revenue growth is accomplished in two ways. First, improved customer satisfaction due to focused, individualized customer care drives customer loyalty and retention. Again, it is not worthwhile for customers to defect if the organization already knows them. Thus, margins improve, and fewer expenditures are needed to acquire new customers to replace defectors. Industry experts report that it costs seven to ten times more to replace a customer than it does to retain one (Newell, 1997). Second, organizations also profit from up-selling and cross-selling to existing customers, targeting of more profitable customers, and improved conversion rates of prospects with greater potential associated with their relationship lifetime value (Brown, 2000).

In essence, in a one-to-one or customer relationship management environment, the organization benefits as well as the customer. However, a key idea in the 21st century relationship marketing strategy that differs markedly from earlier versions is that all customers are not necessarily created equal and, therefore, should be invested in accordingly. The philosophy behind relationship marketing and management does not imply that an organization should seek high-intensity relationships with all of its customers (Peck et al., 1999). Customer profitability and additional value creation opportunities are two key determinants for high-intensity relationship desirability.

Numerous companies have focused on the profitability of products rather than customers (Peck et al., 1999). However, in reality, products create costs, and customers create profits. Products must be manufactured, stored, moved, and delivered. Different customers have different product requirements, which, in turn, affects product costs. The pareto principle, known as the 80/20 rule, says that 80-percent of organizational profits are generated by 20-percent of the customer base. Relationship marketing and management capitalizes on this business tenet and encourages organizations to prioritize where and when to make heavier relationship investments. An organization must ask, what does the customer value, and what is the value of the customer? (Gordon & Roth, 2000).

Peppers and Rogers (1997) have illustrated this point with an on-line grocery delivery enterprise. After shopping for a certain period of time and spending a certain monetary amount on weekly grocery orders, the customer will then be offered the opportunity to deepen the relationship. The on-line grocery enterprise will contact the customer with a weekly list based on past orders that the computer has created. All the customer has to do is review the list, make any additions, and then complete the transaction. It would not be profitable for the on-line grocery enterprise to make this type of relationship commitment to every customer. Conversely, each customer might not be seeking or requiring this level of a relationship because not every customer may put a value on this type of relationship extension.

The on-line grocery example shows the creation of a value-added opportunity in the routing of the suggested shopping list to the established customer. These kinds of customized, value-added offerings are not the right solution for every organizational customer (Peck et al., 1997). They are really for the customers who represent the highest profit potential and who actively seek customized solutions.

One of the premises of today's relationship marketing strategy is that the buyer-seller relationship is not a democracy (Newell, 1997). All customers are not entitled to the same rights and privileges. All customers should be treated equally because that is good business. However, not all customers should be rewarded equally because planned customer investment makes for good profit (Newell, 1997). Some customers earn "better treatment" (p. 136) and repay it to the company many times over in terms of increased purchases, reduced requirements regarding price, reduced operating costs, and the creation of referral business. All of these measures can increase the company's profit ratio. Relationship marketing should be a collaborative effort. If a customer gives an organization a large measure of business, then that customer is probably making some type of trade-off to do so, whether it be in terms of convenience, savings, or something else. The organization needs to acknowledge this effort by recognizing that customer in a unique and different way.

Relationship Marketing in the Business-to-Business Environment

The customer relationship marketing and management business strategy is an approach that adapts well to both business-to-consumer and business-to-business environments. The "black box," or inputs and outputs mentality, associated with traditional, transaction-oriented marketing did not always sufficiently reflect the complexities inherent in how business-to-business markets operate (Naude & Holland, 1996).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the buyer-seller relationship in the business-to-business arena was overwhelmingly adversarial and short-term in nature (Naude & Holland, 1996). The work of the Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group in the 1980s recharacterized business-to-business marketing as one with a strong relationship base. Buyers and sellers had to interact to their mutual benefit. This interaction required levels of trust and commitment not seen in consumer marketing and not found in the traditional Four Ps marketing model. This new perspective also created a shift in the unit of analysis for business-to-business organizations. The original focus was on the selling process and the behavior of the buyer or the seller (see Robinson, Faris, & Wind, 1967; Webster & Wind, 1972; and Sheth, 1973). The wider model that evolved in the 1980s considered the unit of analysis to be the relationship between the buyer and the seller (Naude & Holland, 1996). People and interpersonal relationships were a crucial aspect of the model.

The Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group's literature developed around the basic beliefs regarding the interaction between business parties and the atmosphere surrounding the interaction (Naude & Holland, 1996). Business-to-business interaction involves exchange, such as the exchange of products and services, the exchange of finances, the exchange of social platitudes, and the exchange of information. Naude and Holland (1996) maintained that the exchange aspects of products/services, finances, and social acknowledgments have become somewhat routine in nature and that such routinization does not preclude relationships from forming. The exchange of information, however, has been radically altered in the past decade, and this exchange impacts both relationship formation and development in the business-to-business sector, just as it has in the business-to-consumer sector, as discussed previously.

Information accessible through the channels opened by industrial and technological developments in the 1990s is often the cornerstone of new strategic alliances and partnerships now developing in business-to-business operations. These new information-based associations represent a departure from previous thinking that characterized impersonal communication channels as carrying only basic technical and commercial data while personal communication channels carried soft data, often used to establish and maintain business relationships. Hence came the rise of personal selling units in many product and service organizations. Relationships today are being formed on the basis of what information can be shared between organizations rather than just on the idea that information exchange can occur (Naude & Holland, 1996). Episodic information exchange does not result in the emergence of a business-to-business relationship. The predetermined, formal decision to undertake a strategic information exchange of an ongoing nature is the foundation of business relationship-building today.

From a relationship marketing context, this new information exchange approach resembles a customer dialogue in that both business organizations are sending and receiving information that then generates the next level of the relationship. Naude and Holland (1996) have pointed out that personal relationships in the business-to-business environment may become less important in the future as automated strategic information exchange displaces the person-to-person dyadic relationship of seller and buyer. However, replacement of a human sales force is not predicted, just a change in the characterization and emphasis of the interpersonal aspects of the information exchange. Interpersonal channels will be used to facilitate the information-sharing process, but they will not be used to manage the entire process. Computer-based systems, such as databases, will be used to identify and integrate the shared information for the development of customer-based marketing solutions.

The change in information provision and flow also impacts the interaction atmosphere, which is explained in the Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group's literature as the power-dependence relationship existing between business organizations (Naude & Holland, 1996). The introduction of new information chains and networks being formulated under different conditions has resulted in mutual dependence becoming an even more important goal for business organizations. In some cases, the level of mutual dependence grows to such a level that it becomes crucial for the long-term survival of both parties. It can now be difficult to pinpoint where the relationship power or dependence actually resides between the two.

Understanding how networks bridge and connect industries is also an aspect of the Industrial Marketing and Purchasing Group's research, but Naude and Holland (1996) stated that it should be regarded as the third cornerstone of the business-to-business relationship model today. The person-to-person contact, long associated with business-to-business marketing, is no longer the primary network interaction vehicle. In fact, "the strength of a relationship can no longer be judged by the depth of frequency of person-to-person contact. Rather it is the type of data that are exchanged through information networks that is determining the strength of the relationship" (Naude & Holland, 1996, p. 44). An information network used to transmit only order, delivery, and freight information between two organizations would be considered simplistic in nature and indicative of an immature business relationship. An information network used to transmit detailed strategic information, such as production planning and inventory holdings, would be considered more sophisticated in nature and evidence of a developing and mature relationship. This assessment does not take into account any personal contact involved between the organizations (Naude & Holland, 1996).

These types of information-based business-to-business relationships can become strong enough to act as barriers to entry for others in the business environment, just as the business-to-consumer literature identified building a barrier of inconvenience against competitors. Developing an understanding of how improvements in information-handling capabilities can drive new marketing strategies leads business organizations to the discovery of totally new business solutions. These unique solutions are not unlike product customization and development seen in the business-to-consumer arena once relationship marketing strategies are adopted.

Relationship Marketing in the Media Advertising Sales Environment

Mass media are also marketers (Newell, 1997). They, too, must confront the challenges and opportunities posed in the new marketplace by the new customer, be it their end-consumer customer – the audience – or their business-to-business customer – the advertiser. Media that want to maintain and grow their advertising sales revenue will have to know as much about their own readers, viewers, and listeners as their advertising clients know about their customers (Newell, 1997). Media will then have to find ways to cross-feed the information to support advertisers' relationship marketing objectives. One industry analyst pointed out that media must "either use the technology to expand and protect their existing business or open the door for somebody else to skim it or to take it over entirely" (Newell, 1997, p. 176).

For many media advertising salespeople, the acquisition and deployment of customer knowledge via a computer database is still a cloudy concept. Database marketing utilized in a customer relationship management strategy is a more sophisticated method of increasing audience share and advertising revenue because it holds two advantages for the media (Newell, 1997). First, database marketing is a cost-effective way to target consumers and build audience through tailored messages that speak to smaller prospect groups' interests. A medium can talk to just home and garden enthusiasts about its publications or programming relevant to this interest, as opposed to running a general promotion to try to encourage all subscribers or viewers to read or watch the content with home and garden themes. Tony Coad, director of development for the Telegraph newspaper group in the U.K., points out that the strength of a medium is really "two databases and a brand" (Newell, 1997, p. 177). There is the potentially powerful medium audience database, the medium editorial or programming database, and a medium's brand identity.

Second, database marketing is also a means of identifying specific audience members who are the best prospects to receive messages from media advertisers (Newell, 1997). The advertiser must know more about a medium's audience to integrate mass media advertising vehicles into a relationship marketing program. Typically, this audience information being sought by the advertiser is more than most media now offer (Newell, 1997). When media can identify the best prospects in their audiences and provide this information to an advertiser, they have added value that cannot be duplicated by other competing media. This type of strategic information-sharing strengthens the relationship between medium and advertiser. It becomes a barrier to entry or barrier of inconvenience. This type of alliance would only be offered to the highest potential advertisers to grow customer share for the medium. Relationship marketing in media advertising sales is what will make mass media advertising vehicles viable components of advertisers' own relationship marketing strategies.

Newell (1997) has illustrated this idea with the customer-focused media strategy employed in an advertising alliance between Warner Brothers and KICU in San Jose, California. The television station used a small, unwired telecommunication network to take in-bound calls for a promotion used to give away tickets for a motion picture opening night. Because the station only mailed out tickets to the winners, it acquired names and addresses of moviegoers, something Warner Brothers was eager to obtain. The promotion was so successful that future ones are planned. The revenue to the station was all "new money" since the captured advertising dollars had been going to a media competitor, radio. However, the station is now in the position to maintain and grow Warner Brothers' customer share.

The *Greensboro News and Reporter* used a preferred-member program to reduce subscriber turnover, generate new advertising revenue, and develop a detailed database on what subscribers were purchasing, which could then be offered to advertisers to reach customers through a targeted direct response program, also managed by the newspaper (Newell, 1997). Local merchants who were either small or non-newspaper advertisers but who represented profit potential were recruited to participate as member merchants for a rebate club card. The card was offered to subscribers who bought a seven-day subscription for at least 13 weeks. The rebate card could be used at the 550 local merchants who were partnering with the newspaper in the promotion. Subscribers could earn a 10-percent rebate on all purchases with rebate checks issued every 90 days in $10 increments. The newspaper captured all of the detailed purchase transaction information on which the rebates were based. It also did the reporting and marketing analysis for the participating merchants, who were invoiced at 15-percent for rebate transactions. This amount was used to fund the rebate accounts and pay for marketing and processing fees. Rebate checks could only be spent at participating merchants. The club card merchants also received a 50-percent discount on display advertising purchases made with the newspaper up to the $5,000 level.

This example demonstrates the power of relationship marketing at work. The interaction between the newspaper and the advertisers was based on a powerful and strategic information exchange, as is now typically the case in other business-to-business sectors. The newspaper chose to build this relationship with advertisers who represented untapped profit potential and future lifetime relationship value. The newspaper clearly demonstrated its return-on-investment potential to the participating advertisers. In the process, it captured data that could be joined with other information already in its subscriber database. Now the newspaper has a powerful storehouse of information that can be used to deepen relationships with the participating merchants or with other key advertiser segments that represent high potential in terms of customer share. It has effectively erected a barrier of inconvenience to other competing media sales departments in the market. How could a live remote by a radio station compare to this kind of customized offering?

To further assess relationship marketing strategy integration in the media advertising sales function, dialogue with media industry executives is the next necessary step. Communicating with professionals in both small and large market settings contributes to a more clearly defined understanding of where relationship marketing is now and where it is headed in the future.

Methods

A qualitative study consisting of open-ended field interviews was conducted to provide additional insights into relationship marketing as it is currently being practiced by various media advertising sales organizations with respect to local clients. Candidates for interviews were purposively selected so that (a) newspaper, radio, and network television media would be equitably represented; (b) perspectives from both metropolitan and outstate media markets would be equitably represented; (c) a cross-section of privately and publicly held media organizations would be represented; and (d) only experienced media advertising professionals, as opposed to those new to the industry, would be included in the sample. The eight industry professionals selected for the study encompass these attributes as can be seen in Table 1. Collectively, they have more than 142 years of industry experience. The professionals represent either a top 25 media market, St. Louis, Missouri, at market number 21, or a top 75 market, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, which makes up a significant part of the Paducah-Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg market at number 74 (Bacon, 2001). Interviews were conducted from February 2001 through April 2001 utilizing the discussion questions identified in Table 2.

Interview Findings

Finding 1 Relationship marketing is still seen as a concept in most media sales organizations, rather than as a business strategy. When asked to define relationship marketing, all of the professionals interviewed identified the importance of the customer in their respective definitions. A majority of them said that each relationship with a local client is unique and, that relationship marketing takes on an individualized character. This explanation would be in line with a one-to-one approach and, on the surface, sounds consistent with the relationship marketing literature. Yet nearly 50-percent of the professionals spanning both media markets talked about relationship marketing as being about the fact that clients buy media from the people they like. Relationship marketing is, thus, still seen in some media circles as being all about media companies managing customers rather than media companies managing themselves to be more responsive to customers. This type of definition naturally puts most of the relationship-building emphasis on the media salesperson's ability to establish and nurture interpersonal connections, rather than on the media organization's ability to share strategic information with the customer through the media salesperson. One broadcast executive said that constant education and presentation were the keys to relationship marketing today and that for relationships to thrive the client has to "be educated properly and, then, we have them." This type of statement is a clear indication of using information as a lecture, rather than as a dialogue.

Relationship marketing becomes a business strategy when an organization's internal support systems are adapted to make the establishment, maintenance, and growth of customer relationships possible. While all of the professionals referred to the fact that their media organizations can provide local clients with marketing information, only a few of the organizations have incorporated strategic information-sharing into their overall sales process or their organizational culture and climate. Information-sharing at these media organizations is accomplished through the initiation and completion of dedicated client business reviews, client needs analysis, client industry and business profiling, in-depth and customized client research, and the provision of select and pertinent syndicated research to clients. Information-sharing at these media organizations is an input into the relationship-building process, not an output or an afterthought. One broadcast executive explicitly stated that if his salesperson is going to call on a furniture store owner, the salesperson knows to research the furniture lines carried in the store, the top sellers, and the national market share of the lines' parent manufacturers before ever making the first sales call.

Finding 2 Different types of local clients want different types of relationships with media sales organizations. For some local clients, price is still the cornerstone of a relationship structure. Most of the media professionals reported that the price-driven client still exists at the local level, but that this type of client tends to operate from a less sophisticated marketing knowledge base. The lowest rate is this type of client's chief concern, and this client tends to defect to another advertising medium based on a price decision alone. However, some of the professionals interviewed from both the print and broadcast industries reported that the price-driven local client had diminished in number from what the professionals saw five or ten years ago. The changing economic landscape and the need to maintain acceptable business traffic levels were cited as two reasons for the diminution of the price-driven client. Clients interested in relationships that provided information-based marketing solutions were reported as growing in number.

Many of the professionals reported that local clients want a relationship with a medium and a salesperson who "cares" about them. Demonstrating care can take on different dimensions, ranging from sending birthday cards to sending personalized e-mail about special advertising opportunities to providing tickets to a sporting event to providing solutions to marketing problems that are separate from the promotion and advertising function. Several executives identified the need to fill the role of business consultant or advisor to their local clients as part of the relationship-building process.

Finding 3 All media organizations claim to be segmenting their own customer base, but only a few media organizations are doing so with a conscious effort. Most of the professionals interviewed said that their media organization does develop different types of relationships with different local clients. However, the typical segmentation effort is based on price – the very item that the same professionals identified as having a negative implication when associated with how the client chooses to structure the relationship! Local clients are offered different monetary levels of advertising packages, different monetary levels of sponsorship opportunities, and different advertising rate discounts depending on their propensity to spend advertising dollars with the media organization. Only two of the professionals interviewed clearly and confidently reported the use of the 80/20 rule and the use of conscious prioritization of where and when to make heavier relationship investments in regard to local client relationships. Segmentation of clients by media organizations is happening, but not consistently across markets or media. A few organizations are undertaking it in a purposeful, driven way. Others are doing it haphazardly with no goal or endpoint in mind.

Finding 4 Media professionals are confident that relationship marketing will evolve to something different in the future, but they are unsure as to what forms it will take. Some of the professionals, particularly those in the larger St. Louis media market, identified a need to stay ahead of the curve in terms of relationship-building with clients, although they could not precisely pinpoint what this curve was or where it was headed. Greater affinity with the chief advertising media decision-maker was also identified as an important future characteristic of relationship marketing with local clients.

A few of the professionals interviewed touched on what they felt will be an increased integration of information along with the provision of information to a client. One print executive pointed out that the ability to position a newspaper as a brand-building advertising medium with a local client was indicative of a highly evolved relationship made possible by the client moving to a marketing goal beyond return on investment and by the newspaper attracting and maintaining the client's attention through the sharing of valuable strategic information. Another print executive echoed this thought and pointed out that local clients are already asking for more detailed information not only on the newspaper's audience but also on the general market composition. However, a broadcast executive said that he did not think local clients currently have or will have enough marketing knowledge to make advanced information-based relationships possible. He felt that most local clients still have a great deal to learn about the basics of marketing and that the future of relationship marketing would be more about how to better join forces with clients in a consultative role to educate them than how to join forces to form interdependent marketing partnerships.

Trends in the Data

Aside from the specific findings addressed, there were some trends found in the interview data that were applicable to both print and broadcast as well as trends that were industry specific.

Overall Trends

1. Media organizations in the larger metropolitan market are ahead of their smaller outstate market counterparts in terms of conceptualizing and implementing relationship marketing with local clients. However, no media organization interviewed was practicing relationship marketing at the levels identified as possible in the literature.
2. All of the media professionals interviewed spoke repeatedly about improvement of the bottom line for their media organization. Those media organizations held by publicly traded companies identified relationship marketing as a smart investment, and for the most part, these organizations are developing carefully constructed plans regarding its implementation and further development. One even acknowledged that the corporate parent was using the services of a private consumer industry consultant to craft its relationship marketing strategy.
3. All of the media professionals placed both the initial and continuing relationship-building responsibilities with the account executive and indicated that the burden of providing the research necessary to support the process also fell on the account executive's shoulders. The amount of corporate infrastructure in place to support the

location and generation of such research varied dramatically. Some of the professionals mentioned the use of research assistants, while others only identified that the media organization subscribes to syndicated research services such as Arbitron, Scarborough, and Claritas. To use relationship marketing as a business strategy and not just as a sales tool, an organization must build and maintain an information base to be used by the sales force.

4. Each media organization appears to have a relationship marketing plan built on a single operating philosophy. Different components make up the plan to allow for some unique offerings to individual clients, but the components still work to support the single philosophy. The real differences among media organizations are found in the operating philosophies on which the relationship marketing plans are built.

Print Media

5. Print media professionals expressed the need to establish relationships with individuals at different levels of the client's organization. They want to know not only the immediate decision-maker, but also other management members and higher-level decision makers. They also expressed a desire for the local client to develop relationships with other individuals within the newspaper, apart from just the account executive.

6. Print media professionals seemed more in touch with the idea that they could provide information to local clients of a strategic and valuable nature. They did not focus on "solving a client's

problems" as broadcast professionals did, but they talked about working with a client in a collaborative role in order to keep the relationship fresh and dynamic.

Broadcast Media

7. Broadcast professionals were unanimously concerned with their organizations and their product offerings being branded as "commodities." They saw relationship marketing as a means to eliminate this perception.
8. Broadcast professionals consistently talked about the importance of "solving problems" for the local client. This could be a translation of a needs-based approach to building relationships and the overall sales process. A needs-based approach takes the client away from the product and the focus on cost-per-thousand, cost-per-point, and other numbers associated with broadcast advertising. A reduced focus on the "numbers" would help reduce the possibility of being branded a commodity, which is something of a concern, as was identified in Number 7.
9. Most of the broadcast professionals cited a need to demonstrate "station interest" in a local client as a part of the relationship-building process. This would be a natural philosophy for broadcast media, as their sales forces have historically had more "street time" as a part of their selling day to make it possible for the account executives to spend more time at a client's place of business, according to some of the professionals interviewed.

10. Most of the broadcast professionals said that while "pitch and sell" was the philosophy behind customer contact five or ten years ago, it had been replaced by the idea of working to develop deeper relationships with local clients by really looking at what each one needed and wanted.

Conclusion

Media advertising sales departments have made some progress in defining what customer relationship marketing and management means to their own media organization. However, the qualitative research findings indicate that this area needs further exploration by practicing professionals. Most of the professionals interviewed did not demonstrate a real understanding or mastery of the new thoughts and ideas surrounding relationship marketing in the 21st century, such as operating under the customer share metric versus the market share metric, creating a barrier of inconvenience through learning relationships, and actively prioritizing where and when to make heavier relationship investments in customers. They have mastered the idea that the customer is the crucial component of the equation, but they have not completely balanced both sides of the equation.

Assistance is available to those in the media industry who want to gain a deeper insight into relationship marketing strategy development and deployment. Numerous books, periodicals, newsletters, Internet sites, and special interest conferences are devoted solely to the practice of customer relationship marketing and management (see Appendix A). These resources not only contain lively discussions about how the conceptual foundations of relationship marketing are changing in the 21st century, but also have numerous case studies, illustrations, and examples that show relationship marketing as an organizational strategic imperative in action. Author Stanley Brown (2000) made the point in the preface of his book *Customer Relationship Management* that one can learn a great deal from relationship marketing examples provided by industries separate from one's own. "Accept the ideas and concepts presented, look at them from different angles, and dissect them further. The challenge is to discover the key principles that are real winners, and adapt them within your organization" (p. xxiii).

Advertising academic researchers have their part to play as well. We must further explore the new conceptual platform of relationship marketing and discover methods of deployment currently in place in the media realm as well as methods available for possible future deployment. This would both broaden our academic knowledge base and contribute substantially to the advertising intelligence of the practicing media sales professionals in the field.

Table 1

Interview Subjects

Name	Title	Years of Industry Experience	Current Media Organization	Primary Media Vehicles	Primary Media Market
Jon Rust	Co-president	11	Rust Communications, Inc.	Southeast Missourian	Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Mike Smythe	General Mgr.	25	Raycom Media Group	KFVS-TV	Paducah-Cape Girardeau-Harrisburg
John Zimmer	Partner	21	Zimmer Radio Group	KZIM-AM K103-FM KISS-FM	Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Matt Ceresia	Senior Account Executive	14	American City Business Journals	St. Louis Business Journal	St. Louis, Mo.
Dean Mutter	V.P. and Director of Sales	25	Emmis St. Louis	KFTK-FM KHIT-FM KPNT-FM KSHE-FM WMLL-FM	St. Louis, Mo.
Dave Slazinik	Sales Mgr.	21	Alt Belo Corp.	KMOV-TV	St. Louis, Mo.
Glynelle Wells	Director of Advertising	15	American City Business Journals	St. Louis Business Journal	St. Louis, Mo.
Jennifer Wood	Retail Advertising Director	10	Pulitzer, Inc.	St. Louis Post Dispatch	St. Louis, Mo.

Table 2

Interview Questions Used to Guide the Discussion on Relationship Marketing

In terms of prospecting, developing, and maintaining relationships with local clients, please respond to the following:

1. How would you define relationship marketing for your industry?
2. Is this definition different in any way than the definition you would have used five or ten years ago? Do you think the basis of relationship marketing with local clients has changed?
3. How does your sales force use relationship marketing to recruit and retain local client business? Does it use relationship marketing to minimize defection or make defection to another medium difficult?
4. How would you characterize the type of relationship a local client wants to enter into with your organization?
5. Do the types of relationships differ when looked at in the context of client sophistication level?
6. Do different clients want different types of relationships with your organization?
7. Does your organization want to have different types of relationships with local clients?
8. If yes to question 7, what kinds of segmentation strategies are used to decide what types and levels of relationships to have with local clients?
9. How much would you say relationship building is valued in your medium? How does this compare to other media?
10. Do you see relationship marketing evolving to a different basis in the future?
11. If yes to question 10, what type of basis? (Give examples).
12. How would your organization have to adapt to function on this future basis?

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Appendix A

Additional Relationship Marketing Resources

Books

By Frederick Newell: *Loyalty.com: Customer Relationship Management in the New Era of Internet Marketing* (2000).

By Don Peppers and Martha Rogers, PhD: *One to One B2B* (May 2001); *One to One Fieldbook* (1999); *One to One Manager* (1999); *One to One Future* (1993).

By the Harvard Business Review: *Markets of One: Creating Customer-Unique Value Through Mass Customization* (2000).

By Olivia Rud: *Data Mining Cookbook* (2000).

By Jagdish Sheth and Atul Parvatiyar: *Handbook of Relationship Marketing* (1999).

Magazines

Direct

Marketers Forum

1 to 1 Magazine

Electronic Newsletters

CRM.insight (available at www.crmguru.com)

CRM.talk (available at www.crmguru.com)

Inside1to1 (available at www.marketing1to1.com)

Web Sites

www.aarm.org

www.crmguru.com

www.eoenabled.com/1to1 (1to1research library) www.marketing1to1.com

www.1to1meansbusiness.com

www.1to1resourceguide.com

Running Header: Source Credibility

Anti-smoking Advertisements: The Effects of Corporate Credibility on Ad Credibility

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AV requirements: Overhead projector

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Abstract

This paper examined the relationship between corporate credibility and antismoking ad credibility when source identification occurs at the end of the ad. Cigarette companies were perceived as less credible than both nonprofit agencies and the government. After exposure to ads attributed to them, the cigarette companies' credibility increased. Source identification did not impact ad credibility. A model relating corporate (source) credibility, attitude toward the ad, ad credibility, and issue involvement was proposed and partially supported.

Anti-smoking Advertisements: The Effects of Corporate Credibility on Ad Credibility

Introduction

Prevention of underage smoking has been a major topic of research. One reason for this massive research interest is the staggering statistics associated with adolescent smoking. Research indicates that 80% of regular smokers began to smoke before adulthood. In addition, of the 70% of high school students who try cigarettes, 36% will become regular smokers. Perhaps even more shocking is the reality that more than three thousand children begin to smoke each day. Eventually, one third of them will die of a smoking related disease – making tobacco consumption the leading cause of preventable death in the U.S. (Pechman, 1997; Silver & Melnyk, 2001).

Concern over the health and social effects of adolescent smoking has led to measured action by governmental and civic organizations and in some cases the cigarette industry itself. In 1998, the Master's Settlement Agreement (MSA) was signed between the leading cigarette manufacturers, including Phillip Morris, and the Attorney Generals of 46 states. As part of the MSA, cigarette companies created a fund for the American Legacy Foundation, which attempts to educate consumers about diseases associated with smoking and to encourage youth to avoid cigarettes through a national advertisement campaign.

Different groups have sponsored television campaigns meant to discourage smoking, especially among children and adolescents. Government organizations, such as The Centers for Disease Control, non-profit organizations, such as the American Cancer Society, and even cigarette companies, such as RJ Reynolds and Phillip Morris, have sponsored television campaigns that use different appeals to persuade children and teenagers not to smoke (Pechman, 1997). The question arises however, if it is worthwhile for the cigarette companies, as well as for the government and nonprofit agencies to invest a variety of resources into anti-smoking advertisements or use these resources more efficiently in another way.

Prior research has investigated the effectiveness of anti-smoking campaigns that include television antismoking ads at reducing underage smoking. Campaigns sponsored by the cigarette industry have been found to be not only ineffective, but may have ultimately benefited the companies themselves (Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights, 1998; Unger, Cruz, Schuster, Flora & Johnson, 2001). On the other hand, the evaluation of campaigns sponsored by governmental and non-profit agencies have produced mixed results (Pechman, 1997; Silver & Melnyk, 2001; Sly, Hopkins, Trapido, & Ray, 2001).

While including ads in a campaign is important, most research on anti-smoking advertisements themselves has concentrated on the type of persuasive appeal being used (McKenna & Williams, 1993; Peracchio & Luna, 1998; Sly, Hopkins, Trapido, & Ray, 2001). For example, ads focusing on the long-term negative effects of smoking tend to be ineffective, whereas others, such as the Florida "Truth" campaign, that focus on attacking the cigarette industry were evaluated as highly effective. In fact, the number of smokers aged 12 to14 dropped by 19% the year the Florida "Truth" campaign received the most funds (Silver & Melnyk, 2001).

Researchers have found that factors other than context and appeal also influence the effectiveness of ads. These factors include receiver variables, such as involvement and self esteem; message variables, like message discrepancy (from the receiver's point of view) and concrete (versus abstract) support materials; and source variables, such as endorser credibility and source credibility (O'Keefe, 1990; Perloff, 1993). This suggests that factors other than appeal or campaign variables may account for the impact of antismoking advertisement.

This research examines the effects of source credibility and issue involvement (smoking) on the perceived credibility of the ad and the consumer's attitude toward the ad. Previous research suggests that identifying the source at the end of the ad may minimize the source effect if the sponsor has high credibility (Greenberg & Miller 1966; Homer & Kahle, 1990; Husek 1965; Sternthal, Phillips, & Dholakia, 1978). However, the sponsor of the advertisement should be identified at the end of the ad in order to replicate real-world exposure to antismoking advertisements.

This research will look for the impact of source credibility on the ads and on the sponsors as a means of contributing to the discussion about whether or not cigarette industry sponsored campaigns are an effective use of resource in the real world.

Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

Corporate credibility

Credibility is one of the most commonly studied characteristics of any advertising source. Source credibility, as suggested by Belch (1981), refers to attributes of the communicator such as expertise, trustworthiness, attractiveness, and power. Perceived expertise and trustworthiness are the two most significant measures of source credibility (Dholakia and Sternthal, 1977; Gotlieb & Sarel, 1991). Most literature on source credibility focuses on the spokesperson or endorser credibility. However, "a second source of source credibility that has been identified in marketing is the perceived reputation of the firm or company that makes or produces an ad" (Goldberg & Hardwick, 1990, p.173). This concept has been viewed from a variety of perspectives over the years. Myers and Reynolds (1967) used the term 'corporate reputation' to refer to a consumer's impression of the company that is producing or selling a given product. LaBarbera used the term 'company credibility' in 1982, Lutz called it 'attitude toward the advertiser' in 1985. MacKenzie and Lutz called it 'advertiser credibility' in 1989 and Fombrum labeled it 'company reputation' in 1996. The newest label is 'corporate credibility' (Goldsmith, Lafferty, & Newell, 2000) – the degree to which consumers, investors, and other stakeholders believe in the company's trustworthiness and expertise.

Newell and Goldsmith (2001) reference the seminal work of Hovland et al. (1953) and point out expertise and trustworthiness as the dimensions of credibility, most applicable to corporate perceptions. Therefore any examination of corporate credibility must attempt to measure a consumer's perception of a company's expertise and trustworthiness. Gotlieb and Sarel (1991, 40) state that "expertness refers to whether the receiver perceives the source as knowledgeable... and trustworthiness reflects the receiver's belief that the source's opinions are unbiased". Haley (1996) suggests that various studies have concluded that non-profit and government sponsors are more credible than are commercial sponsors. This effect has not yet been documented with regards to anti-smoking advertisements. Based upon the previous literature (Haley & Wilkinson, 1994; Hammond, 1987; Lynn, Wyatt, Gaines, Pearce & Vanden Bergh, 1978; Reid, Soley & Vanden Bergh, 1981), this study will examine the perceived credibility of sponsors of anti-smoking advertisements.

H1: Cigarette companies will be perceived as less credible sources for antismoking advertisements than either government or non-profit sources.

Ad credibility

Ad credibility refers to a consumer's perceptions of the integrity of a commercial. According to Goldberg and Hardwick (1990), ad credibility encompasses two dimensions: truthfulness and believability. Truthfulness refers to the perceived veracity and integrity of the information presented. Believability refers the perception of an accurate portrayal of reality. The relationship between truthfulness and believability can be directly connected to the concept of corporate credibility. Lutz (1985) suggested that corporate credibility affects ad credibility, defined as the extent to which consumers perceive sponsor's claims to be truthful". This study will investigate the effect of corporate credibility (of cigarette companies, government sources, and non-profit organizations) on the believability of the ad. Therefore the second hypothesis suggests that, the source of antismoking advertisements directly influences the perceived ad credibility.

H2: Antismoking advertisements associated with the cigarette industry will be perceived as less credible than anti smoking advertisements associated with either government or non-profit sources.

Issue involvement

Various studies have identified issue involvement as a good indicator of motivation to process a message (Celsi & Olson, 1988; Gotlieb & Sarel, 1991; Petty & Cacioppo, 1979). However, the concept of involvement is vague and ambiguous at times. One type of involvement that is open to interpretation is issue involvement, which occurs when subjects develop attitudes that are consistent with their values and goals. This explanation of 'issue involvement' can be interpreted to refer to a subject's preconceptions and value-based attitudes toward a specific topic or issue. In this paper 'issue involvement' refers to an adolescent's attitudes, values, and goals related to antismoking. So high involvement will indicate favorable attitudes, values and goals consistent with those in antismoking ads. We contend that increased involvement with an antismoking message will result in more favorable cognitions about the ad. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1979), if a message produces favorable cognitions, involvement will enhance positive thoughts, which will result in increased agreement.

H3: Higher issue involvement will be positively correlated with higher ad credibility.

Similarly, involvement can be related to attitude toward the ad (Aad). In numerous studies, Aad has been conceptualized to refer to some global evaluation of a specific advertisement strategy (Brown & Stayman, 1992). More specifically, Aad is the tendency of the receivers to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner to a specific advertisement at a specific time (Lutz, 1985; MacKenzie & Lutz, 1989; Phelps & Hoy, 1996). We contend that higher involvement with a pro attitudinal message should result in a higher Aad. That is high involvement with a message in line with your beliefs should lead to a better evaluation of the ad.

H4: A strong issue involvement will be positively correlated with a high attitude toward the ad.

Corporate credibility can have a significant effect on a consumer's attitude toward an advertisement. Even before consumers are exposed to advertisements, they have formed an idea about the credibility of the company, which is likely to lead to an automatic attitude toward the ad (MacKenzie & Lutz, 1989). A highly credible communicator is likely to elicit a positive attitude to its message. In fact Lutz (1985) proposes that cognitions determine attitudes. Similarly, we examine whether cognitions, such as credibility judgments about the source, impact subsequent related attitudes, including Aad.

H5: High corporate credibility will be positively correlated with a high attitude toward the ad.

The relationship between cognitions and attitudes has been a topic of discussion since the late 1800's (O'Keefe, 1990; Perloff, 1993). According to Sherif (1967), attitudes have an antecedent component, which "means that the individual is no longer neutral" towards the object (as cited in Perloff, 1993, p. 28). According to MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch (1986), ad related cognitions determine a respondent's attitude toward the ad. So whatever influences the cognitions directly influences the attitude towards the ad. Thus we will investigate the relationship between the affective (Aad) and cognitive (credibility) components of an attitude towards an antismoking ad.

H6: High ad credibility will be positively correlated with a high attitude toward the ad.

Method

Stimuli

This study employed a 3(ad) x 3(source label) repeated-measures factorial design. Three professionally produced anti-smoking advertisements (PSAs) from different sponsors provided the three levels of ad. A cigarette company, a non-profit organization, and a government agency each originally sponsored one of the ads. The ads were edited to remove source identification. Then the ads were manipulated such that the source at the end of the ad reflected a cigarette company (Phillip Morris), a non-profit organization (American Cancer Society), or a government agency (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention). These organizations provided the three levels of source label.

The unit of analysis was the ad + source label combination (see Table 1). The combination of ad + source yielded nine unique units of analysis. For example, when the advertisement that was originally produced by the cigarette company was labeled with the correct sponsor then that was one unit of analysis. The same ad with the non-profit label was a second unit. And so on… The separate units were then grouped into threes. Each grouping or combination of ads was referred to as a pod. Each pod contained three different ads (units of analysis). Each participant was only exposed to one pod. To control for order effects, the ads were shown in different orders in each pod. The pod containing the three ads with the correct source labels (e.g. C_{ad} C_{label}) was considered to be the control condition.

Table 1. Ad and source label pairings for ad stimuli

C_{ad} C_{label}	G_{ad} G_{label}	N_{ad} N_{label}
G_{ad} C_{label}	N_{ad} G_{label}	C_{ad} N_{label}
N_{ad} C_{label}	C_{ad} G_{label}	G_{ad} N_{label}

Note: C=cigarette company; N=nonprofit organization; G=government agency.

The antismoking ads used in the study were 30-second real PSAs produced by each of three sources: the Phillip-Morris Company, the American Cancer Society, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The Phillip Morris ad, which was airing on television at the time of the experiment, was recorded during afternoon educational programming. A local TV news station provided the American Cancer Society ad. The governmental ad was provided by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The three ads were selected because of their similarity in imagery used, complexity, and production quality. All of the ads were fast-paced, utilized music and attractive people, and contained negative messages about smoking.

Research participants

The participants were a convenience sample of 230 seventh grade students at a southeastern suburban middle school. The sample contained 116 males and 114 females. Their ages ranged from 11 to 13, with a mean of 12.3 (SD= .472). The ethnicity of the sample was measured using the variables from the 2000 U.S. Census. The sample consisted of 85.7% White Caucasians, 6.1% Black, 4.3% Asian, 2.4% Hispanic/Cuban, and 1.7% other ethnic groups.

The participants originated from twelve different science classes, instructed by three teachers. None of the teachers were smokers. The classes were randomly assigned to one of the ad pods, with two classes being exposed to each pod. All groups were exposed to the

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advertisements on the same day minimizing their opportunity to discuss the study. In addition to obtaining parental consent, all participants signed an informed consent form before participating in the research.

Procedure

Four researchers each conducted three sessions following a set protocol to reduce researcher bias. Participants were first introduced to the types of organizations that sponsor anti-smoking television ads, followed by an informal discussion where they were asked to provide another example of a government agency, non-profit organization, and cigarette company. The purpose of having them provide additional examples of each type of sponsor was to ensure their understanding of each organization. Following this discussion, they completed the pre-test portion of the survey. The first ad was shown, after which participants completed questions about that ad and the credibility of the labeled source. The second and third ads were then shown, with each ad followed by the same questions as the first ad. After the three ads were shown, participants completed the final section of the survey with questions identifying any prior knowledge of the ads, smoking behavior, and demographic data. Finally, they were debriefed about the purpose of the study and the accurate sponsors of the ads.

Operational definitions and dependent variables

The survey contained three sections: pre-test questions, a sequence of stimulus-response questions, and post-exposure questions. A pre-test was used to gather information about issue involvement and the perceived credibility of the organizations sponsoring the antismoking ads. Issue involvement has been conceptually defined as the viewer's preconceptions and experience with the issue. In this case, it is operationally defined as the participant's prior attitude toward smoking and tobacco use. Involvement with the issue of smoking was measured using a four item 7-point semantic differential scale (harmful/beneficial, wise/foolish, good/bad, and favorable/unfavorable) as used in previous research (Petty & Cacioppo, 1979). The involvement scale yielded a standardized alpha of .832. Participants also indicated their position towards smoking using three 7-point Likert scales (1 = do not agree at all; 7 = agree completely) and their position towards television antismoking ads smoking using one 7-point Likert scale (1 = do not agree at all; 7 = agree completely).

Corporate credibility was conceptually defined as the degree to which consumers believe in the company's trustworthiness and expertise (Newell & Goldsmith, 2001). Corporate credibility is operationally defined as the degree to which participants believe in the trustworthiness and expertise of the three different sponsors of the antismoking ads. Corporate credibility was measured for each of the three organization types (cigarette company, nonprofit organization and government agency) using an 8-item scale. This scale consists of two 4-item subscales for trustworthiness and expertise used by Newell and Goldsmith (2001). Each subscale contained a reversed order item that was omitted from the final analysis. The decision to omit the reverse scored items was based upon the realization that the items contained double negations, which were too complex for the adolescent participants. The four-item scale for trust in company yielded a reliability coefficient α=.68, while the reliability without the double-negative item was α=.73. For the other scales, the reliability coefficients with the double-negative items were above the .70 threshold, and throwing out the double negatives increased the reliability even further (Table 2).

Table 2. Reliability alpha coefficients for credibility scales with and without the double-negative items

Scale	**With double-negative item**	**Without double-negative item**
Trust (company)	.6769	.7398
Trust (nonprofit)	.7954	.8684
Trust (government)	.8204	.8534
Expertise (company)	.8261	.8315
Expertise (nonprofit)	.8629	.8929
Expertise (government)	.8424	.9090

Therefore, 3-item subscales were used for both trust and expertise. For the cigarette companies, the 3-item trust subscale yielded a standardized alpha of .74, and the 3-item expertise scale yielded a standardized alpha of .83. The trust subscale yielded a standardized alpha of .87, and the expertise scale yielded a standardized alpha of .89 for the non-profit organization. Likewise, the trust subscale yielded a standardized alpha of .85, and the expertise scale yielded a standardized alpha of .91 for the government.

The second part of the survey contained instruments used in response to specific antismoking advertisements. The degree to which the audience finds the ad likeable and appealing is a measure of their attitude toward the ad (Aad). Thus, attitude toward the ad is operationally defined as how much the audience likes and is engaged by the ad. Aad was measured using the 4-item scale Phelps and Hoy (1996) developed for assessing adolescents' attitudes toward the ad. The participants rated the ad on 7-point semantic differential items for hate it/like it a lot, boring/exciting, stupid/great, and dull/fun. The scale yielded a standardized alpha of .94.

Ad credibility refers to the integrity and believability of the information presented in the ad and is operationally defined as the honesty and professionalism of the content of the antismoking ad (Goldberg and Hartwick, 1990). Participants rated ad credibility on the 6-item

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scale used by Goldberg and Hardwick (1990). Items on the scale include deceptive/honest, misleading/sincere, dull/exciting, unprofessional/professional, unsophisticated/sophisticated, and boring/interesting. The unsophisticated/sophisticated item was changed to simple/complicated to better fit the adolescent participants. The altered item proved to be confusing for the participants and thus was eliminated from the analysis altogether. The scale using the existing 5-items yielded a standardized alpha of .87.

The post-test consisted of questions about prior knowledge of the ads, smoking behavior, and demographic information. Participants were asked if they had previously seen any of the ads, and if 'yes' then they were asked to identify the correct sponsor of the ad. They were then asked if they or someone in their house had ever smoked a cigarette, and whether they considered themselves to be a smoker, nonsmoker, or occasional smoker.

Results

Organization credibility

The first hypothesis suggested that cigarette companies are less credible than either nonprofit, or government agencies. A paired samples t-test of the credibility of the three sources placed the nonprofit agencies at the top (mean = 5.96, SD = 1.24), followed by the government agencies (mean = 5.30, SD = 1.32), and cigarette companies (mean = 2.16, SD = 1.19). All differences were significant at a level of $p<.05$. Therefore, the cigarette companies were the least credible of the three sources, and hypothesis one was supported. On both the trustworthiness and expertise subscales, the government and nonprofit agencies scored higher than the cigarette companies (Table 3).

Table 3. Mean scores for overall corporate credibility, trustworthiness and expertise for each source of antismoking ads.

	Cigarette company	Nonprofit agency	Government agency
Expertise	2.50^{a}	5.64^{b}	4.72^{b}
	SD = 1.67	SD = 1.29	SD = 1.72
Trustworthiness	1.81^{a}	6.27^{b}	5.88^{b}
	SD = 1.18	SD = 1.55	SD = 1.38
Overall credibility	2.16^{a}	5.96^{b}	5.30^{c}
	SD = 1.19	SD = 1.24	SD = 1.32

Organization credibility and ad credibility

The second hypothesis suggested that ads attributed to cigarette companies are less credible than ads attributed to either nonprofit or government agencies. A series of one-way ANOVAs for each source was conducted to see if there was a source effect for any or all of the sources on the message credibility. No significant main effect for ad credibility by source was found, and thus, the hypothesis was not supported. Exploration of the data found no effect when the company ad was attributed to the nonprofit agency, the government, or the company ($p>.05$). Also, there were no significant differences when the nonprofit and the government ads were attributed to the nonprofit agency, the government, or the company ($p>.05$). The data seem to indicate that we have an advertisement effect. In other words, the participants did not judge the credibility of corporate messages by the credibility of the company, but by the intrinsic qualities of the advertisements that the company sponsors.

Importantly, there was an interaction effect for advertisement by source. When the cigarette company's ad was labeled as made by the nonprofit source, this source was perceived as more credible than either of the other sources – government or cigarette companies. This interaction effect may have occurred after the exposure, because the participants perceived the nonprofit agency as the most credible source. However, the participants favored the advertisement produced by the cigarette company over the other ads, regardless of how we labeled it (nonprofit, cigarette, or government). There was no significant difference between the nonprofit ad and the government ad, when each was attributed to the nonprofit agency (Table 4).

Table 4. Advertisement credibility

	Actual source		
Advertisement attributed to	Cigarette company	Nonprofit agency	Government agency
Nonprofit agency	6.12^{*a}	4.94^{*b}	5.48^{*c}
Government agency	5.85^{a}	5.08^{*b}	5.55^{a}
Cigarette company	5.81^{a}	5.11^{*b}	5.64^{a}

*Correlation significant at p<.05

The differences in credibility of the nonprofit ad were significant, when this ad was labeled as made by either cigarette company, or government (p<.05). The credibility attributed to company was the highest, followed by the credibility attributed to the government (Table 4). There were no significant differences between the credibility of the company and government, when these ads were attributed to the government, or to the company (Table 4).

Involvement, ad credibility and Aad

Hypothesis 3 suggested a direct correlation between involvement in the issue of smoking and credibility of the advertisement. The data support small, but significant correlations for advertisements produced by government ($r = .15$, $p < .05$) and nonprofit agencies ($r =.17$, $p < .05$), but not for advertisements produced by cigarette companies ($p>.05$). That finding may have occurred because the participants were nonsmokers, for the most part. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is confirmed for two out of the three ads.

We found minute significant correlations of involvement in the issue with attitude toward the advertisement (hypothesis 4) for advertisements produced by government ($r = .15$, $p<.05$)

and by nonprofit agencies (r = .15, p<.05). We did not find any significant correlations for advertisements produced by the cigarette company (p>.05). Thus, hypothesis 4 is confirmed for two of the three ads.

Corporate credibility and Aad

According to hypothesis 5, the corporate credibility of each of the three sources and the attitude toward the advertisements should have been positively correlated. Table 5 illustrates the findings for this hypothesis. There were significant correlations between the perceived credibility of each of the sources and the attitude toward the ad. The correlations were also substantive for ads produced by the government and the nonprofit agency, but not as substantive for ads produced by the cigarette company. This difference can be explained considering that the participants favored the ad produced by the cigarette company, but also perceived the cigarette company to be the least credible source.

Table 5. Correlations for Corporate Credibility, Credibility of the advertisement, and Attitude toward the ad.

	Attitude toward the ad by		
	Cigarette company	Nonprofit agency	Government agency
Corporate credibility	.27**	.47**	.60**
Credibility of the advertisement	.84**	.76**	.86**

** Correlation significant at p<.001

Ad credibility and Aad

Hypothesis 6 suggested that credibility of the advertisement is positively correlated with the attitude toward the advertisement. There is a significant correlation (Table 5) between credibility of the advertisement and participants' attitude toward the advertisement. This finding was to be expected, since the literature suggests ad credibility and attitude toward the ad are closely related measures (McKenzie et al., 1986). Even though the nonprofit organization was perceived as the most credible, their advertisement showed less of a correlation between credibility and attitude. One possible explanation for this discrepancy may be that their ad employed an unusual approach that used a play-on-words. It is reasonable to believe that many young viewers may have not understood the play-on-words.

Models of source credibility

A model was developed to further explore the relationships among involvement, source credibility, Aad, and ad credibility (Cad). Linear regression analyses were conducted with Aad, Cad, and post-exposure corporate credibility as dependent variables to establish the relative contribution of the factors in the model. For the Aad regression analysis, involvement, corporate credibility, and Cad were entered in one step. For the Cad regression analysis, involvement, corporate credibility, and Aad were entered in one step. Finally, for the post-exposure corporate credibility regression analysis, corporate credibility, Aad, and Cad were entered in one step. Only correlations were available for the relationship between involvement and pre- and post-exposure corporate credibility. The models were developed separately for each source label as data could not be collapsed across sources.

Government. When the government was identified as the source of the ad, the model (*Figure 1*) explained 74% of the variance in Aad (R^2=.74), 75% of the variance in Cad (R^2=.75), and 75% of the post exposure corporate credibility score (R^2=.75). The significant predictors of Aad were Cad (β= .86, p<.01) and involvement (β= -.07, p<.05). Cad was significantly predicted by Aad (β= .84, p<.01), post exposure corporate credibility (β= .23, p<.01), and involvement (β= .10, p<.01). Post exposure corporate credibility was predicted by Cad (β= .54, p<.01) and corporate credibility (β= .40, p<.01). Finally, there were significant correlations between involvement and corporate credibility (r=.18, p<.01), as well as involvement with post-exposure corporate credibility (r= .22, p<.01).

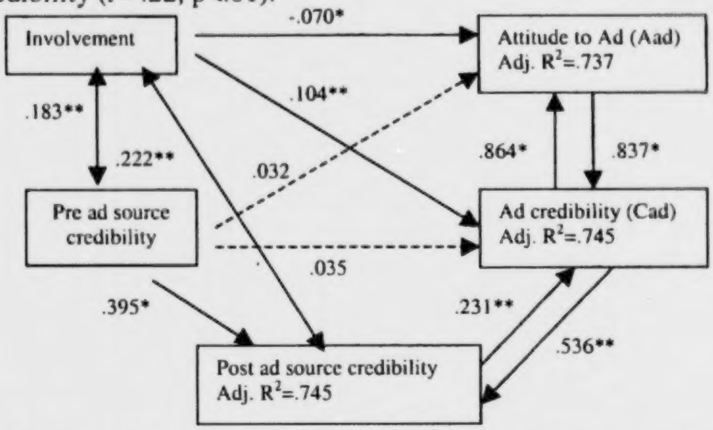
-.070*
Involvement
Attitude to Ad (Aad)
Adj. R^2=.737
.104**
.183**
.222**
.032
.864*
.837*
Pre ad source credibility
Ad credibility (Cad)
Adj. R^2=.745
.035
.395*
.231**
.536**
Post ad source credibility
Adj. R^2=.745

Figure 1. Government source model of credibility for antismoking advertisements.

Cigarette Company. When the cigarette company was identified as the source of the ad, the model (*Figure 2*) explained 70% of the variance in Aad (R^2=.70), 70% of the variance in Cad (R^2=.70), and 22% of the post-exposure corporate credibility score (R^2=.22). The only significant predictor of Aad was Cad (β= .84, p<.01). Similarly, Cad was only significantly predicted by Aad (β= .84, p<.01). Post-exposure corporate credibility was predicted by only corporate credibility (β= .39, p<.01). Finally there were no significant correlations between involvement and pre- or post-exposure corporate credibility.

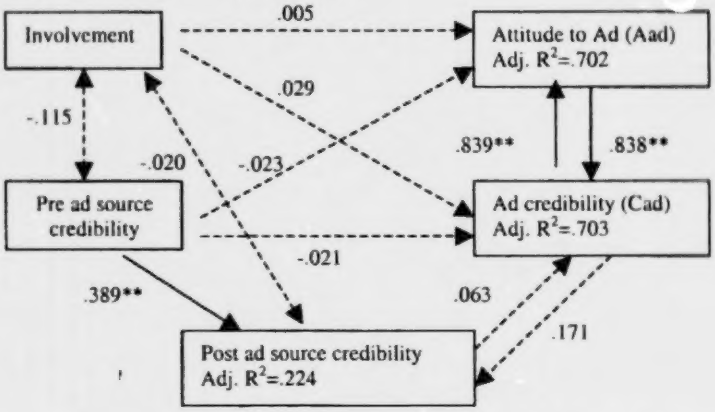
.005
Involvement
Attitude to Ad (Aad)
Adj. R^2=.702
.029
-.115
-.020
-.023
.839**
.838**
Pre ad source credibility
Ad credibility (Cad)
Adj. R^2=.703
-.021
.389**
.063
.171
Post ad source credibility
Adj. R^2=.224

Figure 2. Cigarette company source model of credibility for antismoking advertisements.

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Nonprofit Source. When the nonprofit organization was identified as the source of the ad, the model (*Figure* 3) explained 58% of the variance in Aad (R^2=.58), 57% of the variance in Cad (R^2=.57), and 40% of the post-exposure corporate credibility score (R^2=.40). The significant predictors of Aad were Cad (β= .74, p<.01) and corporate credibility (β= -.11, p<.05). Cad was significantly predicted by Aad (β= .76, p<.01) and post-exposure corporate credibility (β= .27, p<.01). Post-exposure corporate credibility was predicted by Cad (β= .47, p<.01) and corporate credibility (β= .31, p<.01). Significant correlations were found between involvement and corporate credibility (r=.35, p<.01).

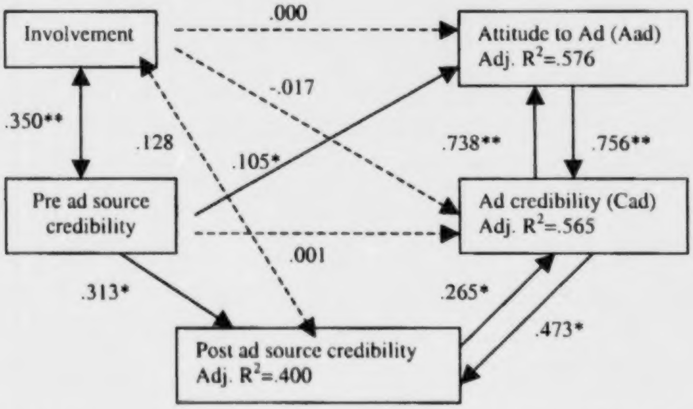
Involvement
.000
Attitude to Ad (Aad)
Adj. R^2=.576
-.017
.350**
.128
.105*
.738**
.756**
Pre ad source credibility
Ad credibility (Cad)
Adj. R^2=.565
.001
.313*
.265*
.473*
Post ad source credibility
Adj. R^2=.400

Figure 3. Nonprofit organization source model of credibility for antismoking advertisements.

Overall Patterns in the Model. The model fit the different sources with differing degrees of predictive ability. All of the models found significant relationships between Aad and Cad. Indeed, from the cigarette company model, it would appear that this Aad-Cad relationship explained most of the R^2 for Aad and Cad. In addition, there was a consistent direct relationship for the corporate credibility score on the post-exposure corporate credibility score. One obvious result is that the relationship between corporate credibility and Cad is not significant for any of the models. The rest of the relationships change from source to source.

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The relationship between corporate credibility and Aad is only significant for the nonprofit source, which was the one rated most credible by the participants. Perhaps the strongest finding from the nonprofit and government models taken together is the strong relationship between ad credibility (Cad) and the post-exposure corporate credibility of the source (β=.47 and β=.54 respectively). This is reasonable, considering that both credibility measures tap cognitions related to ad and source. In addition, in the nonprofit model the correlation between involvement and corporate credibility is the strongest (r=.35). For the government source, there was also a significant correlation between involvement and the post-exposure corporate credibility score (r=.22). The direct effect of involvement on Aad and Cad was low when it was significant.

Discussion

The results of this study determined that there was a difference in the corporate credibility of the cigarette companies, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies for an adolescent audience. However, a model of the relationship between corporate credibility, attitude toward the ad, credibility of the ad, and issue involvement was only partially supported.

As hypothesized, the cigarette companies were seen as less credible than either nonprofit agencies or government agencies. Our findings indicate that not only did cigarette companies score lower in overall credibility but also in both subscales of credibility: trustworthiness and expertise. However, the cigarette companies did score higher in expertise than they did in trust. It is not surprising that the cigarette companies scored lower than the other two sources in terms of trust, since audiences may find company-sponsored antismoking ads to be suspect. This assumption was supported in the debriefing session, when participants expressed concern over cigarette companies' motivation for producing antismoking advertisements. Perhaps another explanation for why they scored higher in expertise than in trust is the company's perceived experience producing commercial advertisements.

Previous research suggests that when the advocated position is opposed to the source's self-interest, then credibility of the message increases (review in O'Keefe, 1990; Walster, Aronson & Abrahams, 1966). In this study, the credibility of the cigarette company increased following exposure to an advertisement. In fact, the regression analyses revealed a significant relationship between ad credibility and the credibility of the source after exposure to the ad for all three sources. Conversely, when the message is in the expected and self-interested direction, it is seen as less persuasive. The initially low overall credibility of the cigarette company improved from 2.16 to 3.78 on a 7-point scale, whereas the government rating stayed in the middle, increasing slightly from 5.30 to 5.50. This contrasted with the high nonprofit organization mean that dropped slightly from 5.95 to 5.68. If the nonprofit organization message had no elements to make it seem other than in the organization's self-interest, the credibility of the source could experience a slight decrease. This may be the case for the nonprofit organizations in this research project.

Based upon the finding that cigarette companies are perceived as less credible than either government or nonprofit agencies, we expected to find that corporate credibility would have an effect on ad credibility. However, this was not the case. When non-profit and government ads were attributed to the cigarette company, they were not seen as significantly less credible. Also, the ad by the cigarette company was not perceived as more credible when attributed to the nonprofit agency or the government. Indeed, in the regression analyses, no significant relationship between ad credibility and corporate credibility before exposure to the ad was found for any of the sources.

It appears that the source effect on the credibility of the ad, small but present, is overshadowed by the effect of the ad. This is likely the result of the timing of the source identification, which occurred at the end of the advertisement. Strong evidence from prior research indicates that the impact of source credibility is minimized when the identity of the source is withheld until after the message has been presented (Homer & Kahle, 1990; Sternthal, Phillips, & Dholakia, 1978). In addition, when the audience displays high issue involvement, there is less influence of source credibility (Petty & Cacioppo, 1985; for review O'Keefe, 1990). This implies that the impact of source will be most important for those with low issue involvement. In the case of antismoking messages, source would be most important for the undecided smoker group, who does not have strong convictions about smoking and antismoking. In this study the sample was highly involved, which was an additional factor in minimizing the source effect. For this highly involved group, it seems that the message was the most important aspect of the ad, regardless of who sponsored it.

The only combination that seemed to be effective at enhancing the credibility of the ad was the most liked ad (cigarette company) attributed to the most credible source (nonprofit). This finding is reasonable if the high credible source is impacting the credibility of the ad in this situation. Many studies have taken this position in the past (see Sternthal, Phillips & Dholakia, 1978 for review). However, most current research suggests that moderately credible or even low-credibility sources are more effective when the message is pro-attitudinal (Homer & Kahle, 1990; Sternthal, Phillips & Dhokalia, 1978). One explanation for this result may be that the participants rated the nonprofit source as the most credible, but were not really sure what to expect from it. Regardless of how well the message fit their expectation, they may still have found it credible and trustworthy because they trusted its source.

As hypothesized, a direct relationship between the attitude towards the ad and the ad credibility was a strong effect found in both correlation and linear regression analyses. It appears that the more the participants liked the ad the more credible they found it, and conversely, the more credible they found the ad the more they liked it. This would suggest that cognitive response to the ad (credibility) and the affective response (Aad) were significantly related. McKenzie et al. (1986) suggested that the credibility of the ad is an antecedent to the viewer liking the ad (attitude toward the ad). This may be the case. What is then interesting is that the influence on pre-exposure source credibility appears to work via Aad on ad credibility, according to the regression analyses. Indeed, the pattern of the involvement effects would bear this out. Involvement had its greatest direct influence on the attitude towards the ad, and in one model directly affected the credibility of the ad.

Implications for Future Research

Upon further examination there are several areas where modifications to the study would create new avenues of research. Implications for future research include: 1) timing of the source identification; 2) use of consistent stimuli; 3) use of a more diverse sample; and 4) repeated exposure to stimuli.

This study indicated that there is little source effect when the organization producing the ads is identified at the end of the ad. One interesting implication for future research would be to replicate the study using ads that identify the source at the beginning instead of the end of the ad. Such as change would be more likely to yield a significant source effect on ad credibility and post exposure corporate credibility.

Although all the ads in this study used a sports theme and were similar in terms of pace, color, and music, they used different approaches. One portrayed peer influence, another used celebrity endorsers, and the last one used a plea to internal values ("I don't smoke for myself"). Therefore the participants may have judged the ads based on content instead of source. In other words, appeal type of the ad was not controlled to the desired level. Future research might improve on the experiment by controlling for uniform type of appeal. Ways to accomplish this goal are by designing original advertisements for all sources, finding advertisements that are a s similar as possible, or by using just one advertisement with different manipulated sources.

While much of the antismoking literature indicates the mean age for trying cigarettes is 12 years (Pechman, 1997), only 5.2% of our sample (mean age 12) indicated that they had tried cigarettes. Of those who had tried cigarettes, only three people categorized themselves as "smokers" and one as an "occasional smoker." A potential weakness of our sample is its homogeneity, as the majority of students came from upper-middle class Caucasian families. These students may be less likely to smoke than their peers with different socio-economic backgrounds. Future research may want to use a more diverse sample.

Another area in which the sample could be more diversified is issue involvement because this sample was strongly anti-smoking in orientation. The credibility of the antismoking ads for a highly involved antismoking audience indicates that it does not matter which organization is the source of the antismoking ads when the source is identified at the end of the ad. Further research could test the impact of source credibility for other groups of adolescents, such as a group of predominantly smokers or with students who are ambivalent or undecided about smoking to see if source credibility has an effect.

This study used only one exposure to each antismoking advertisement. However, it is almost an axiom that advertising works by repetition. While repeated exposure to ads may reinforce the message, it may also reinforce the source. It may be that with repeated exposure to an antismoking ad there will be a greater influence (negative or positive) of the general credibility of the source as viewers associate the source with the ad. Future research might use repeated exposures to advertisements, ideally in as natural an environment as possible.

There seems to be some indication that the many individual receiver level variables that could moderate the effect of the antismoking ads as intended by the sponsoring organizations. Indeed, this study looked at the influence of issue involvement and perceived corporate credibility. Future research could look at other moderating variables like issue salience, antismoking attitude accessibility, cultural values, and familiarity with the sponsoring organization.

Conclusion

The results of this research open up the possibility that factors other than appeal influence the impact of antismoking ads. This research found a limited impact of source credibility and issue involvement overall. However, there were situations when these variables had a significant impact on ad credibility and attitude toward the ad. This inconsistency suggests that it would be fruitful to further investigate source credibility and issue involvement. For example, future studies could investigate antismoking ad credibility with youth who have an undecided attitude towards smoking. In addition, other variables that moderate the effectiveness of antismoking advertisements could be identified.

Contrary to criticism that the cigarette companies benefit by sponsoring antismoking advertisements because the ads promote the company (Americans for Nonsmokers Rights, 1998), this study discovered that antismoking ads appear to have very little benefit for the cigarette companies. A minimal increase in the credibility of cigarette companies was found in this study, however it was still below that of the nonprofit and government organizations. In addition, the ad produced by the cigarette company was liked most by this audience, indicating that the advertising expertise of the cigarette companies contributed to having a successful ad. Therefore, the legislation that requires the companies to spend money on these campaigns may indeed be helping get the antismoking message to the intended audience.

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Longitudinal Content Analysis of Gender Imprints Left by Primetime Network Television Commercials: How Advertisers Portray The Gender of their Prospects

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Submitted to the Advertising Division: Professional Freedom and Responsibility

Abstract

Advertisers must target their commercials to their prospects, which means the prospects must be able to see how the products fit into their lives. This research was designed to see how advertisers use gender images to target their prospects.

This research was designed as a 3-year longitudinal study of prime time commercials for the same major networks during the same time period each year to insure comparable samplings and reliable coding.

The results for the seven hypotheses showed women of all ethnicities to be underrepresented as the primary figure in the commercials unless the commercials were for traditionally female products. Typically women were younger than men with women over 50 years of age most underrepresented. Additionally, women were most often cast as actresses or voice-overs in shorter commercials, while men were featured in longer commercials. Sexually oriented roles were most often given to women.

Advertising constitutes 16 minutes of each network hour of programming (American Association of Advertising Agencies/Association of National Advertisers Inc., 1999), thereby contributing over 25% of the broadcast programming content. Average viewers may be exposed to an average of six hours of television advertising each week, which is designed for high-energy impact and contributes mightily to the overall cultural imprint (Pollay, 1986). These repetitive TV images reinforce and create imprints, which become culturally accepted (Gerbner, 1999; Gerbner & Cross, 1976; Signorelli & Morgan, 1996). "One of the most obvious and important characteristics of television actors is their gender, and one of the most important 'lessons' that children learn from TV actors is how gender fits into society" (Barner, 1999, p. 551).

Representation of Gender in Advertising

Advertisers want to persuade consumers and they use characters in commercials to establish a symbolic relationship between the brand and the viewer/prospect. Past gender and media studies have focused on the representation of central characters (Allan & Coltrane, 1996; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992; McArthur & Resko, 1975; Signorelli, McLeod, & Healy, 1994). Generally, they found fewer female central characters. Allan and Coltrane (1996) found fewer female central characters than male when comparing commercials from the 1950s to the 1980s, and Bretl and Cantor (1988) found similar patterns when they charted studies from 1971 through 1988. Eaton (1997) reported that women were underrepresented in prime-time television networks promotional advertisements. Historically, advertisers portrayed women as dependent on men (Barthel, 1988; Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Downing, 1974; Franzwa, 1974). Aside from depiction in a few stereotypically feminine work roles, women's role behaviors in advertisements have been restricted to those of a highly recreational, familial, or decorative nature (e.g., Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971, Dominick & Rauch, 1972).

Across all networks, females were more likely to be portrayed in provocative attire, as attractive, and more physically fit than males.

Advertisers understand target segmentation. Early studies such as McArthur and Resko (1975) and Dominick and Rauch (1972) found females portrayed at home and males portrayed away from home. Bretl and Cantor (1988), and Allan and Coltrane (1996) found actresses were more likely than actors to advertise products primarily used in the home while actors were more likely to appear in advertisements for products used away from the home. Iijima & Crum, (1994) found actors outnumbered actresses during beer commercials aired during sporting events aimed at a male audience. Courtney and Whipple (1983) found actresses were offered as rewards for purchasing male products. They also found actresses used in advertisements for female products sometimes implied that "the ultimate benefit of product usage was to give men pleasure" (p. 104).

Dominick and Rauch (1972) and Furnham, Abramsky, and Gunter (1997) found actresses were usually younger than male counterparts. The majority of women (71%) in the Dominick and Rauch (1972) study were between 20 and 35 years old. Men were older with 43% of them between the ages 20 and 35 (p. 263) and (41%) in the 36-50 years age category (p.264). Only 6% of women and 13% of men were over 50 years old (p.264).

Women were underrepresented not only visually but also in terms of their voice-overs in television advertising (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; O'Donnell & O'Donnell; 1978). Among 946 advertisements with voice-overs, only six percent used a female voice, yet 87 % used a male voice (Dominick & Rauch, 1972). O'Donnell and O'Donnell (1978) indicated that 93 % of voice-overs were done by males. Caballero and Solomon (1984) reported that the voice-overs of male models suggested "authority and expertise" even for products targeted toward women (p. 107).

Gender Shift in the Marketplace

The American culture has changed significantly since the gender studies of the 1970s. In 1970, married couples headed 40% of all households compared to 25% in 1997 and in 1997, 13% of all households were single-parent families with children, twice as many as in 1970 (Facts on File, 1998, p. 717). An U.S. Bureau of Census study reported that 7.6 million women were heading families, which was 23% of all families with children (Facts of File, 1986, p. 498). Scott (1976), "Some markets are traditionally 'female' and others traditionally 'male' but increasingly…no one can be quite sure about which of these markets are and how long they will stay so carefully divided" (p. 157). Swenson (1990) said, "Women have become buyers of big-ticket items – automobiles, homes, financial services, travel packages, computers, consumer electronic products, and the like" (p. 53). Swenson concluded, "Billions of dollars in buying power await companies, which recognize that women are a major independent force and align with them" (p. 65).

Finally, women have more money and more jobs than at any time. Women's inflation-adjusted earnings have increased nearly 14% since 1979, while men's have decreased about 7% (Bowler, 1999). The difference between men and women's aggregate employment participation rate was more than 50 percentage points in 1950 but had shrunk to less than 15 percentage points by 1998 (Fullerton, 1999).

Given that enlightened marketing communicators want to efficiently target their best prospects, the researchers offer the following hypotheses to guide this research.

Research Hypotheses

1.) The overall numerical representation of men and women in television commercials will not reflect the 2001 U.S. Bureau of Census population figures.

2.) Women will appear much more frequently in commercials for products traditionally targeted to females, such as health and beauty and household related products than other product categories such as automobiles, which are traditionally targeted to men.

3.) Primetime television commercials will not accurately reflect the ages of women and men, when compared to the 2001 U.S. Bureau of Census population statistics.

4.) Women will be cast as primary characters less frequently than men, while women will be cast as secondary characters more frequently than men.

5.) Women will be portrayed in a sexual context more frequently than men.

6.) Men are more likely to appear in longer commercials than women.

7.) Men are more likely to do voice-overs than women.

Research Method

Krippendorff (1980) and Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (1998) discussed the primary research techniques for content analyses, which were used to conduct this research. The researchers videotaped a 21-hour primetime constructed week's sample (Sunday through Saturday) for each network from 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. CDT, each year. In 1998 the sample included, ABC, CBS and NBC; in 1999 the sample was ABC, FOX; and in 2000, it was ABC, NBC, CBS and FOX for a total of 189 hours of television programming. The data collections occurred during the February "Sweeps" rating period each year. A syndicated service such as Nielsen uses "Sweeps" to measure audience share and it was determined to be a consistent representative sample of programming context and commercials. If a commercial was shown more than once, each showing was included because that method best exemplifies Gerbner and Gross' (1976) concept of cultural cultivation via repetitive images. Zajonc (1968) also supported the assumption "that repeated exposure is a sufficient condition of attitude enhancement" (p. 21) and media planning professionals evaluate "frequency" because a message needs to be seen multiple times for it to be most effective.

Research Protocol

A research protocol was developed to orient and instruct all data coders. Individual coder training included a description of the study's objectives, data gathering, and processing techniques, and a variable dictionary with operational definitions. Coder reliability was assessed using random samples for each individual coder and variable. The lead researcher directly supervised each coder and assessed the data for reliability for all three years of the study.

Variables and Measures of Reliability

There were a total of 13,511 primary or secondary characters presented within the 7,686 commercials over the three years. The lead researcher randomly selected and recoded 10% of each project coder's work to test for the minimum percentage of agreement for each variable to assess coder reliability.

For this study, the term "character(s)" refers to actress (es) and/or actor(s), "actress" refers to a female and "actor" refers to a male. Gender was coded as a choice between male, female and not discernable. A character's gender was reliably categorized in at least 98% of the cases.

Determining whether a character's role was primary or secondary achieved at least 88% agreement. A primary character was identified as someone visually substantiated throughout most of the ad directly interacting with the product or service. Primary characters usually had speaking roles but speaking was not requisite. Secondary characters were "visually substantiated" as a background character for at least several seconds and rarely had speaking parts.

The age variable was developed to correlate with the U.S. Census data bank and syndicated proprietary services. Each primary and secondary character was coded into one of four age categories: infants and young children (5 years and below); adolescents (6-20 years);

younger adults, (21-50 years); and aging adults (51 years and older). Coders agreed at least 87% of the time, when assigning characters to age categories.

It was agreed that products and services were appropriately categorized in at least 98% of the cases. Product categories were similar to those used by previous studies (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992; McArthur & Resko, 1975). Products were coded into as many as 60 categories but were later collapsed into more general categories to achieve statistical significance for each.

Each commercial was timed and appropriately categorized in 99% of the cases. A character's sexual context was appropriately coded into one of five categories in at least 95% of the cases. And, determining the gender of the voice-over achieved 98% agreement.

Results

The first hypothesis was supported as actors are more likely to appear in prime-time television advertisements than actresses for all three years. In 1998, males were 51.0% and females were 49.0%. In 1999, males were 55.6% and females were 44.4%. In 2000, males were 51.6% and females were 48.4%. However, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, male population was 48.9% and female population was 51.1% ("Projection Of," 2002).

This second hypothesis was supported (see Table 1) as females were more likely to represent household and personal care products, such as household supplies, appliances, furniture, health and beauty products, clothing. Across all three years, males were more likely than females to appear in food products. Also, females were less likely to be portrayed in personal lifestyle and transportation advertisements, such as financial services, movies, media related products, automobiles, etc.

This third hypothesis was supported (see Table 2). Both male and female characters were most likely to be cast between the ages of 21 to 50 years. However, women were more likely to be cast between the ages of 6 and 20 and men were more likely to be over 51 years.

The fourth hypothesis was supported (see Table 4), when considering numerical counts. Males were more likely to play primary roles than females, while females were more likely to play secondary roles. The results were statistically significant for 1998 and 2000 but they were not statistically significant in 1999.

The fifth hypothesis was supported (see Table 5). Females were more likely than males to be cast as "sexually suggestive" characters. In 1999, 19.4% of females were "sexually suggestive," compared to 4.8% of males and in 2000 10.2% of the women were compared to 7.4% of the men.

This sixth hypothesis was supported (see Table 6). Females were less likely to appear in longer commercials than males. For example, 78% of the males appeared in commercials 30 seconds or longer, compared to 62.4% of the females in 1999.

The seventh hypothesis was supported (see Table 7). Sixty-nine percent of the voice-overs were male in 1999 and 66% were male in 2000 concurring with earlier studies (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; O'Donnell and O'Donnell; 1978) although there was slight improvement for females. This study also tested the relationship between the gender of the voice-overs and the gender of the actors, which appeared in commercials. It was significant that both male and female voice-overs were associated with the same gender actors. However, female actors were more likely to appear in male voice-over advertisements than males were in female voice-over advertisements.

In addition, this study further investigated the relationship between voice-overs and commercial length. It was significant that male voice-overs were more likely to be longer than female voice-overs (Chi-square= 19.857; df = 4; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.125 in 1999 and Chi-square = 106.466; df = 4; $p < 0.001$, Cramer's V = 0.142 in 2000). For example, 71.2% of male voice-overs were either 30 seconds or over 30 seconds, compared to 59.4% of female voice-overs in 1999 data (77.2% v. 71.8% in 2000 data). In other words, females were more likely than males to do voice-overs for shorter advertisements.

Discussion

This longitudinal study confirmed that women are still underrepresented 25 years after the first gender studies. There was some improvement in women's representation but generally stereotypical images and imbalanced representation are still the dominant gender imprints. Women were most likely to represented in clothing, health, beauty and household products, when they are underrepresented in automobile commercials but purchase over 50% of the vehicles (Torbjornsen, 2000).

Swenson (1990) reported the increasing buying power of women, and according to Janoff (2000, p. 36), females made 73% of the purchase decisions, while males made 15% of the purchases, both made 11%, and 1% was made by others. However, this study confirmed that primetime network commercials still don't think women have enough power or credibility to persuade prospects. Females were more likely to be cast as secondary support actresses than have primary speaking roles.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the male population under 51 years of age was larger than the female's in 1999 (Projections of, 2002), while there were more females over the age of 51.

However, commercials portrayed just the opposite (Projections of, 2002). These imprints support the misbegotten images of young women who are the rewards of older, mature men.

Faith in sexual appeals is evidenced by the widespread use of physically attractive actresses and actors. However, few studies have conclusively established significant relationship between sexual appeals and recall or positive attitudes toward a brand and consumers' purchasing behaviors (Caballero, Lumpkin, & Madden, 1989; LaTour, Pitts, & Snook-Luther, 1991; Steadman, 1969). In this study, when models were portrayed as sexually suggestive, women were more likely to be sexually suggestive than men. Females portrayed as sex objects in advertising continues to be one of the most controversial social impact issues.

Males' dominance in actual numbers in advertising had been reported by previous studies (Allan & Coltrane, 1996; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992; McArthur & Resko, 1975). Few studies have investigated actual time allocation for males and females. The findings of this study indicated that males dominate the actual number of characters and the actual amount of time aired in primetime commercials.

Previous studies revealed that television audience was more likely to hear male voice-overs than female voice-overs (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; O'Donnell & O'Donnell; 1978). This study also confirmed that male dominance in voice-overs. An interesting aspect of findings of this study was that advertisements were likely to use male voice-overs not only when male actors appeared but also when female actors appeared. However, when female voice-overs were used, male actors were not likely to appear. When this study further investigated the relationship between voice-overs and commercial length. Female voice-overs were less likely to be used in longer commercials than male voices.

Overall, the gender imprints left by primetime network commercials present a very distorted picture of sex roles. At the turn of a new millennium, most of the stereotypical gender images represent women from the 1950s. Although any society or culture has multiple values and beliefs, all values are not employed in advertising (Pollay, 1986). Using stereotypes in advertising can become selective reinforcement (Pollay, 1986). Stereotypes can exist in any given society, but reflecting old and tired gender stereotypes in advertising may cost an advertiser more than the cost of the commercial. It may cost them new customers as well.

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Table 1

Relationship between Gender and Product Types

	1998		1999		2000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food	34.9	26.9	38.0	32.0	29.5	22.4
Household Lifestyle	17.3	24.8	13.3	12.1	10.4	12.2
Personal Care	11.4	22.1	10.2	36.2	15.2	29.2
Personal Lifestyle	20.1	16.2	17.2	9.4	27.1	21.9
Personal Transportation	11.4	5.2	18.4	7.5	7.0	4.6
TV Self-promotion	.6	.4	0	.5	.3	.2
Miscellaneous	4.4	4.5	3.0	2.4	10.6	9.6
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1

Note. Chi-square = 234.402; df = 6; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.206 (1998), Chi-square = 109.412; df = 6; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.340 (1999), Chi-square = 174.868; df = 6; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.182 (2000).

Table 2

Relationship between Gender and Age

	U.S. Census		1998		1999		2000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5-under	8.7	8.0	2.2	2.0	6.1	8.9	3.3	2.8
6-20	22.8	20.7	20.7	23.5	14.9	16.9	16.4	17.0
21-50	44.7	43.3	66.3	67.5	68.2	69.6	61.2	71.2
51-over	23.8	28.0	10.8	6.9	10.8	4.6	19.1	8.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9

Note. Chi-square = 28.948; df = 3; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.073 (1998), Chi-square = 40.877; df = 3; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.123 (1999), Chi-square = 116.068; df = 3; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.149 (2000).

Table 3

Relationship between Gender and Roles

	1998		1999		2000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary	25.7	22.1	40.8	38.8	35.9	31.6
Secondary	74.3	77.9	59.2	61.2	64.1	68.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. Chi-square = 10.188; df = 1; $p < 0.01$; Cramer's V = 0.043 (1998), Chi-square = 1.086; df = 1; n.s. (not significant); Cramer's V = 0.020 (1999), Chi-square = 10.695; df = 1; $p < 0.01$; Cramer's V = 0.045 (2000).

Table 4

Relationship between Gender and Sexual Contents

	1999***		2000**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not Sexually Suggestive	95.1	80.6	92.7	89.7
Slightly Sexually Suggestive	4.3	16.4	4.7	7.2
Moderately Sexually Suggestive	.2	1.6	1.3	1.3
Sexually Suggestive	.3	1.1	.8	.7
Overtly Sexual	0	.3	.6	1.0
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9

Note. Chi-square = 51.314; df = 4; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.233 (1999), Chi-square = 18.213; df = 4; $p < 0.01$; Cramer's V = 0.059 (2000).

Table 5

Relationship between Gender and Commercial Length

	1999***		2000***	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
10 Seconds or Less	3.3	6.5	1.0	1.4
15 Seconds	14.1	27.2	16.7	20.9
20 Seconds	4.7	4.0	1.6	2.3
30 Seconds	75.9	59.7	75.2	69.1
Over 30 Seconds	2.1	2.7	5.5	6.2
TOTAL	100.1	100.1	100.0	99.9

Note. Chi-square = 34.220; df = 4; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.190 (1999), Chi-square = 26.393; df = 4; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.071 (2000).

Table 6

Relationship between Gender and Voice-overs

	1999***		2000***	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Male Voice-overs	85.5	44.9	74.9	55.8
Female Voice-overs	14.5	55.1	25.1	44.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note. Chi-square = 158.000; df = 1; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.431 (1999), Chi-square = 188.494; df = 1; $p < 0.001$; Cramer's V = 0.200 (2000).

Environmental Determinants of Foreign Entry Mode Choice of U.S. Based Transnational Advertising Agencies

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Abstract

This paper investigated the impact of host country environmental factors on the entry mode choice of U.S. advertising agencies. The hypotheses were derived by using the theories on the determinants of foreign direct investment in the manufacturing firms and service industries. The three hypotheses depicted U.S. advertising agencies empirically tested and revealed significant results. First, joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the cultural distance between the host country and the U.S. is more distant. Second, joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the host country risk is higher. Third, joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the market size of the host country is bigger.

Environmental Determinants of Foreign Entry Mode Choice of U.S. Based Transnational Advertising Agencies

In the midst of rapid change in technology and transportation, we are witnessing the integration of the global economic landscape. In the age of globalization, the multinational corporation, a nationally-based company with overseas operations in two or more countries, has become a major force in shaping the world's economy (Caves, 1982).

As large corporations become increasingly transnational in scope, they are faced with the need to create a unified marketing strategy, in order to efficiently develop consumer bases across national boundaries.

Since World War II, U.S.-based transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs) have established strong networks in diverse regions of the world and have continued to dominate the international advertising industry. Recently, the global expansion of US agencies has been accelerated through mergers and acquisitions or joint ventures with host countries (Anderson, 1984; Kim, 1995). This phenomenon has occurred not only among U.S.-based TNAAs but also among other developed countries' agencies such as those in Japan and Western Europe.

On the road of global expansion, the choice of the correct entry mode for a particular foreign market is one of the most critical decisions. The selected mode determines the extent to which the firm becomes involved in developing and implementing marketing programs in the foreign market, the amount of control the firm enjoys over its marketing activities, and the degree to which it succeeds in foreign markets (Anderson & Gatignon, 1986; Kim & Hwang, 1992; Makino & Neupert, 2000; Pan & Tse, 1996, 2000; Root, 1994; Terpstra & Yu, 1988).

While most of the literature has examined the entry mode of manufacturing industries, the development of theories explaining the international expansion of service industries is still in its early stage (Erramilli & Rao, 1990, 1993; Ekeledo & Sivakumar, 1998). At the same time, the consolidation and internationalization of advertising agencies has been examined through a political economic approach or as an aspect of cultural imperialism.

Although Terpstra and Yu (1988) investigated the impacts of several factors on the foreign investments of U.S. advertising agencies, they only tackled the issue of the presence of foreign subsidiaries. The issues of multiple offices, control mode or entry mode were left to be answered. Weinstein's model (1977) tested only the economic status of the host country as an external variable. He didn't include other environmental variables such as country risk and cultural difference, which are also important factors influencing foreign entry in manufacturing industries.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the global expansion strategies of transnational advertising agencies (TNAAs) from the perspective of media management rather than traditional media criticism. This study will analyze foreign investment activities through TNAA mergers and joint ventures during the past 20 years. Specifically, this study examines the activities of U.S.-based TNAAs following U.S. domination of the world economy. This study addresses three research questions:

RQ1. Is merger and acquisition or joint venture the preferred foreign entry mode of U.S. based advertising agencies?

RQ2. Which regions of the global market are attractive to U.S. agencies for mergers and acquisitions, and joint ventures? Are different entry modes selected for different regions?

RQ3. Which factors did contribute to the selection of foreign entry modes by U.S. agencies?

Specific hypotheses examining the factors that influence the entry mode decision will be suggested through the literature review.

Literature Review

Classification of Entry Modes

Numerous scholars classify the entry mode types based on the degree of control and investment risk (Douglas & Craig, 1995; Erramili & Rao, 1990; Hill, Hwang, & Kim, 1990; Hitt, Ireland, & Hoskisson, 2001; Root, 1994).

The four broad entry modes are exporting; contractual transfer such as licensing, franchising, and other agreements; joint venture; and wholly owned operations through a build or buy option.

Export mode differs from the other three primary entry modes in that a company's final or intermediate product is manufactured outside the target country and subsequently transferred to it. Thus, exporting is confined to physical products. This is the typical initial step to enter foreign markets with no risk.

Contractual entry modes are non-equity associations between an international company and an entity in a foreign target country to form an advantageous business arrangement to achieve predetermined objectives. The forms of contractual arrangements involve research and development, sales and marketing, manufacturing, supply and distribution agreements, and licensing. This mode is distinguished from export mode because it is primarily a vehicle for the transfer of technology or human skills (Root 1987).

Joint ventures allow firms to share the risks and the resources required to enter international markets (Pan & Tse, 1996). Most joint ventures are with a host country firm that knows and understands the competitive conditions, legal and social norms, and cultural idiosyncrasies of that country, which should help the firm manufacture and market a competitive product (Hitt et al., 2001). Disadvantages include the sharing of rewards, possible control and coordination problems associated with the local partner, and the potential that either partner may look to their firms' rather than the joint venture's best interest (Beamish, 1985).

On the other hand, acquisitions can provide quick access to a new market. This mode may provide the fastest and often the largest initial international expansion of any of the alternatives. In addition, there is total operational control eliminating potential conflicts of interest with partners (Geringer & Herbert, 1989). However, it also carries costs for obtaining appropriate information to negotiate an agreement and multiple risks (Hitt, et al, 2001).

Entry modes of manufactured goods and services are different in terms of tangibility and separability, i.e., exporting services is somewhat different from exporting goods because services are intangible and inseparable.

The advertising industry belongs to the soft service industry, which cannot separate production and consumption (Erramilli & Rao, 1990). Therefore, exporting and licensing are not typical modes of entry for advertising agencies. In the advertising industry, sole ownership of operations and joint ventures are two types of market entry strategies often used by foreign agencies. There are two forms of total ownship strategies. The first is the "build" option and the other is the "buy" option through acquisition. In fact, mergers and acquisitions have evolved as popular entry strategies that benefit numerous mega agencies (Frazer, 1988; Hill, 1989). This study focuses on the two direct investment entry modes: acquisition and joint venture.

Models of Entry Mode and Foreign Direct Investment

International investments originate from many directions and are targeted to many different regions of the world. However, there are risks associated with these investments (Hitt, et al., 2001). Thus, cross-border movement requires careful planning and selection of the appropriate markets and modes of entry. Usually, selection of entry mode involves two steps: (1) determining the location of entry, and (2) deciding the firm's level of involvement in, or control of, the activities.

The entry mode decision should be based on a trade-off between risks and returns. In addition to determining the amount of resources the firm will commit to the foreign market, initial entry mode choice significantly affects the performance and longevity of a foreign operation (Li, 1995; Root, 1994). It is tied to a transnational corporation's core competency contributions, control over subsidiaries, parent-subsidiary relations, and vulnerability to external changes in a host country (Gomes-Casseres, 1990; Hill et al., 1990; Root, 1994).

Although foreign direct investment (FDI) theory was originally developed to explain foreign production, its application to service industries is considered equally appropriate. This model has been applied in the past to explain the internationalization of the hotel industry, the banking industry, and the advertising industry (Agarwal & Ramaswami, 1992; Ekeledo & Sivakumar, 1998; Terpstra & Yu, 1988; Weinstein, 1977).

Because transnational advertising agencies follow their clients into international markets, the basic investment model in the manufacturing industry can be applied to this analysis. Therefore, the TNAAs' selection of an entry mode is expected to pursue high returns and reduce the risk involved in foreign investment.

Location Advantage

Dunning's (1980, 1988) location advantage paradigm stipulates that the choice of entry mode during international expansion is influenced by the profitability of the host markets.

Firms interested in serving foreign markets are expected to use a selective strategy and favor entry into more attractive markets (Davidson, 1980; Luo, 2001). This is because their chances of obtaining higher returns are better in such markets. The attractiveness of a market has been characterized in terms of its market potential and investment risk. In countries offering a high market potential, investment modes are expected to provide greater long-term profitability than non-investment modes such as export. Host country factors, particularly market opportunities, contextual uncertainties, and governmental policies, often have a fundamental impact on entry mode selection.

Because of the possibility of a larger volume of business, market size of the host country has a positive impact on the flow of manufacturing FDI. Previous studies found market size to be a significant determinant of foreign direct investment (Jun & Singh, 1996; Lunn, 1980; Root & Ahmed, 1979; Schmitz & Bieri, 1972; Terpstra & Yu, 1988; Torris, 1985; Wheeler & Mody, 1992).

It is expected that service firms show similarity, i.e., they are attracted to foreign markets with large size. This kind of behavior has been observed in international banking (Ball & Tschoegl, 1982) and in international advertising agencies (Miracle, 1966; Terpstra & Yu, 1988; Weinstein, 1977). Since advertising agencies follow their clients in foreign markets, it is expected that foreign investments of advertising agencies will also show a similar attitude with their manufacturing clients. Hence, the hypothesis, which tests the relationship between market size and the choice of entry mode, is set up:

H1: *Acquisitions will be preferred to joint ventures when the market size of the host country is bigger.*

Transaction Costs

Transaction cost theory suggests that the governance structure a firm chooses for a venture is driven by a desire to minimize transaction costs. Applications of transaction cost theory have become fairly common in entry mode investigations (Anderson & Coughlan 1986; Anderson & Gatignon, 1986; Erramili & Rao, 1993; Gatignon & Anderson, 1988; Brouthers & Brouthers, 2000).

A given task could be contracted out to external agents, partners or suppliers (market-contracting or low-control modes) or it could be internalized and performed by the company's own employees (integration or full control modes). The particular governance structure that is actually utilized in a given situation depends on the comparative transaction costs, that is, the cost of running a system, including the ex-ante costs of negotiating a contract and the ex-post costs of monitoring the performance and enforcing the behavior of the parties to the contract (Williamson, 1985).

Under the transaction costs' considerations, the international context ushers in two problems that play minor roles in domestic trading.

The first involves cultural differences between nations. It was conceptualized by Hofstede (1980) as encompassing four dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and individualism. A number of previous studies lend theoretical and empirical support to the relationship between a firms' country of origin and the mode of entry. Firms initially enter into a foreign market with cultural closeness and then sequentially enter into other markets of greater cultural distance (Barkema, Bell, & Pennings, 1996; Erikkson & Johanson, 1997). In view of entry mode, firms from a culturally distant home base prefer joint ventures to acquisitions or wholly owned subsidiaries as those firms are more likely to have difficulties in managing foreign operations by themselves (Hennart, 1991; Hennart & Reddy, 1997).

Joint ventures may be seen as a way of bridging cultural gaps. In contrast to the integration costs of an acquisition, a joint venture frequently serves the purpose of assigning management tasks to local partners who are better able to manage the local labor force and relationships with suppliers, buyers, and governments (Franko, 1971; Stopford & Wells, 1972). Thus, a joint venture resolves the foreign partners' problems ensuing from cultural factors, though at the cost of sharing control and ownership. Makino and Neupert (2000) also showed that the greater the cultural distance, the more likely it is that firms will establish joint venture agreements.

From the cultural distance perspective the second hypothesis is suggested:

H2: *Joint ventures will be preferred to acquisitions when the cultural distance between the host country and the U.S. is more distant.*

The second problem in the international context results from the degree of country risk. The extent to which a country's political, legal, and economic environment threaten the stability of a business operation is generally understood (Davidson, 1982). Political changes in the ruling party brought about by elections or even wars may result in major policy changes. Macroeconomic instability such as inflation, high interest rates, recession and hard currency shortage also affect the investments of transnational corporations.

The findings of previous studies show that country risk is negatively related with the degree of control. In other words, the literature showed that transnational corporations prefer low control mode when they expand into high-risk countries (Gatignon & Anderson, 1988; Goodnow & Hanz, 1972; Luo, 2001). Joint ventures with local investors promise to reduce political complications while diversifying against expropriation risks.

In terms of the country risk variable, the following hypothesis is tested:

H3: *Joint ventures will be preferred to acquisitions when the host country risk is higher.*

Research Methods

Data

Major sources of data used in this study are several issues of *Advertising Age* and the SDC Platinum CD-ROM database compiled by Securities Data Company, which includes all corporate transactions, private as well as public, involving at least five percent of ownership of a company. Since 1981, all mergers and acquisitions' transactions of advertising agencies were extracted for analysis. Due to the lack of available data, joint venture transactions were collected since 1987.

Variable Measurement

Entry Mode

An acquisition takes place when a U.S. agency fully acquires an existing foreign agency. A joint venture occurs when a U.S. agency establishes a new agency and shares the ownership with a foreign partner. The unit of analysis is the entry.

Cultural Distance

Johanson and Vahlne (1977) related foreign direct investment patterns to the "psychic distance" between countries, i.e., the degree to which a firm is uncertain of the characteristics of a foreign market. Psychic distance would be influenced by differences in the culture and language of the home and target countries.

Psychic distance is a broader concept than cultural distance; however, it is only used as a category of country clusters. For a better empirical approach, this study adopts the cultural distance concept. Although Hofstede's cultural index confronts frequent criticism, it is one of the most commonly accepted citations and few constructs have gained broader acceptance in international business literature than cultural distance (Shenkar, 2001).

Using Hofstede's indices (1991), which include 50 countries and three regions (Eastern Africa, Western Africa, and Arab countries), a composite index was formed based on the deviation along each of the four cultural dimensions (i.e., power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity/femininity, and individualism) of each country from the United States. The deviations were corrected for differences in the variances of each dimension and then arithmetically averaged. Algebraically, the following equation for measuring cultural distance was adapted from Kogut and Singh's 1988 study.

$$CDj = \sum_{i=1}^{4} \{(Iij - Iiu)^2 / Vi\} / 4$$

Where I*ij* stands for the index for the *i*th cultural dimension and *j*th country, V*i* is the variance of the index of the *i*th dimension, *u* indicates the United States, and CD*j* is cultural distance from the United States.

It might be problematic to use the indices to explore U.S. advertising agencies' global expansion, because not all countries where U.S. agencies have invested are included. The countries not included were Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Russia, Romania, and China. Even though previous empirical research did not include those countries, they can be incorporated into existing clusters suggested by Ronen and Shenkar (1985). They aggregated all literature including Hofstede's previous research (1980) and suggested nine cultural cluster zones.

The calculated cultural distance indices between the U.S. and 48 countries in this study and Ronen and Shenkar's aggregated clusters show very similar results. Anglo cluster countries by Ronen and Shenkar - for example, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Ireland, and South Africa - show very similar cultural distance from the United States. Their composite indices range from .0077 to .3243, which are the closest distance among all countries. The mean composite index of 48 countries from the U.S. is 2.1358 (SD=1.2159; min=.0777; max=4.9837).

A composite index of Yugoslavia was used for Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Russia, and Romania. And for the index of

China, the mean score of Far Eastern countries (South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong) was calculated.

Market Size

The size of market, typically proxied by the level of GNP or GDP, appears to be an important determinant of FDI flows. Since the difference between GNP and GDP is usually relatively small, and used interchangeably in previous literature, GNP is used for actual market size in this study. GNP measures the total amount of domestic and foreign value added claimed by residents. When calculating the GNP in U.S. dollars from the GNP reported in national currencies, the World Bank follows its Atlas conversion method. This involves using a three-year average of exchange rates to smooth the effects of transitory exchange rate fluctuations (World Development Indicators, 2002).

Data were collected from the World Development Indicators database, July 2001 (www.wordlbank.org). All GNP values of the year 2000 were submitted except those for a few countries (Kuwait-1999; Taiwan-1999; UAE-1996).

Country Risk

Although country risk is a wide-ranging concept that is difficult to assess empirically because of its multidimensionality (Goodnow & Hanz, 1972; Gatignon & Anderson, 1988), Economist Intelligence Unit, one of the foremost providers of country risk ratings, amalgamates a range of qualitative and quantitative information into a single index or rating. The primary components of EIU ratings are current account/balance of payments, debt, export concentration, reliance on imports, foreign exchange/currency convertibility, liquidity, reserves, savings rate, corruption, policy flexibility, and political/ethnic/religious/ideological/linguistic fractionalization,. The score 100 is the most risky country.

Sixteen countries in this study are not included in the EIU reports. The index for those countries are given based on the country risk clusters by Goodnow and Hanz (1972). They sorted out one hundred countries into three groups that correspond to high, medium, and low risk countries. As a country moves toward the highly risk countries, government and economics become less stable, markets become poorer, legal and geographic barriers go up. Since twelve countries (United Kingdom, France, Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) belong to the low risk country category, they are given a score of twenty. Germany is also a low risk country and its EIU score is seventeen. The remaining four countries (Spain, Finland, Ireland, and Portugal) are categorized as a medium risk cluster; therefore, the score of forty was given. The mean score of a medium risk country included in the EIU report is thirty seven.

Results

Mergers & Acquisitions

Figure 1 shows the increasing trend of the overall and international mergers and acquisitions in the advertising industry from 1981 to 2001. Overall 1605 mergers were completed in that period. Among all mergers, 603 cases (37.6%) were cross-border deals. Within-country mergers accounted for 1002 cases. Although until the mid-1980s, there were less than ten acquisitions each year, they increased considerably after 1986. In particular, the deals completed in the past five years account for 49 percent of all mergers and acquisitions in the past two decades.

Cross-border mergers and acquisitions also showed an increasing trend. Compared to the period before the mid-1990s, the number of deals doubled in recent years. Deals in the past five years account for 51.2 percent of all mergers and acquisitions completed in the last 20 years.

The total mergers and acquisitions and cross-border mergers and acquisitions show similar variations in the last two decades. In spite of a little fluctuation over time, the composition of international deals was consistently around 30 to 40 percent of the total mergers and acquisitions.

As shown in Figure 2, U.S. agencies completed 247 cross-border mergers and acquisitions, which is 41 percent of all cross-border mergers. Specific data of cross-border mergers and acquisitions reveal another interesting finding. Acquisitions by U.S. and non-U.S. agencies vary similarly over time. It can be interpreted that while U.S. agencies lead the international market, other countries have reacted to the global expansion of U.S. agencies.

Of all merger cases, 473 (29.5%) have been done between U.S. agencies in the U.S. domestic market. At the same time, U.S. agencies have also acquired 247 agencies (15.4%) in foreign markets. In sum, almost half (44.9%) of all mergers during the last two decades have been done by U.S. agencies.

In terms of acquiring foreign agencies, U.S. corporations bought 247 agencies (41.0%) in foreign markets. Following the U.S., British corporations bought 154 foreign agencies (25.5%), French corporations bought 108 (17.9%), Japanese corporations bought 23 (3.8%), and Swiss corporations bought 13 agencies (2.2%) in foreign markets (Table 1). This reveals that four countries, (U.S., U.K., Japan, and France), which have the top ten advertising organizations, have completed 88.2 percent of all international acquisitions.

In terms of mergers and acquisitions by U.S. agencies, they bought 247 agencies in 43 countries (Table 2). In Western Europe, 122 mergers (49.4%) were completed by U.S. agencies in 14 countries. In particular, more than half the mergers were completed in the U.K. (40 cases) and Germany (25 cases). In Asia, 39 deals (15.8%) in eleven countries were done by U.S. agencies. In the two countries located in the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand, 15 firms (6.1%) were acquired by U.S. agencies. U.S. agencies bought 28 (11.3%) Canadian agencies. Although only six countries were targets of acquisition by U.S. agencies, 28 deals (11.3%) were completed in South America. In particular, Brazil (12 cases) and Argentina (9 cases) were the main targets of acquisitions. U.S. agencies have shown little interest in the acquisition of agencies in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. They have only bought 17 agencies (6.8%) in those three regions.

Joint Ventures

Figure 3 shows the number of overall and cross-border joint ventures over time. From 1987 to 2001, 240 joint ventures were completed overall. Of them, 135 (56.3%) were established by partners of different countries. The ratio of cross-border joint ventures was higher than cross-border mergers and acquisitions (37.6%). However, the overall number of merger and acquisition deals was considerably larger than that of joint ventures. Similar to the merger and acquisition case, the cross-border joint venture also shows similar variations with overall joint ventures.

A close look at cross-border joint ventures (Figure 4) shows that joint ventures between U.S. and foreign agencies were very popular (85 cases, 63.0%). The remaining 50 cases were joint ventures set up by a foreign country and another foreign country. Joint ventures completed by agencies of the same country are not counted as cross-border joint ventures.

The extraordinarily high number of joint ventures in 1991 (See Figure 4) was caused by the activities of U.S. agencies. The 1991 recession derailed the U.S. economy. As a result, cross-border acquisitions, which need more capital, decreased, while cross-border joint ventures by the U.S. increased. However, joint ventures between foreign countries didn't show an increase. The increase in cross-border joint ventures in 1991 was entirely the result of the U.S. agencies' expansions.

Forty-two deals, 17.5 percent of total joint ventures, were done between U.S. agencies. Eighty five cases (35.4%) were done by U.S. agencies with other foreign agencies. In sum, 52.9 percent of all joint ventures were set up by U.S. agencies. It is noteworthy that the overall portion of U.S. joint ventures is half of all joint ventures, because it is consistent with the portion of U.S. agencies in mergers and acquisitions. It also coincides with the U.S. dominance in the top 50 advertising organization rankings, of which U.S. agencies make up half (Agency Report, 2001).

Partners of U.S. agencies are regionally diverse (Table 3). Twenty ventures were entered into with five countries in Western Europe, 43 ventures with nine countries in Asia, nine cases with five countries in Eastern Europe, seven cases with Canada, three cases with three countries in South America, and one case with one country in Africa and Pacific Asia, respectively.

While U.S. agencies mainly acquired agencies in Western European countries, they chose only a limited number of European agencies as joint venture partners. In addition, European joint ventures are created for the alliance to go to third party countries. For example, a U.S. agency chose an Italian agency to go to the U.K. market and chose a German firm to go to the Russian Federation.

On the other hand, the typical cross-border joint ventures are an alliance with the host country to build an agency in that country. For example, the U.S. chose a Russian company to go to Russia, a Hungarian company to go to Hungary, a Polish company to go to Poland, a Romanian to Romania, and a Kenyan for Kenya.

Merger and Acquisition and Joint Venture Comparisons

As shown in Table 4, there were 247 acquisitions by U.S. agencies and 85 joint ventures between the U.S. and foreign partners. Chi-Square comparisons between cross border acquisitions and joint ventures by U.S. agencies reveal significant differences statistically by regions ($\chi^2 = 55.792$, df = 7, $p < .001$).

In Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, which are politically riskier, less economically developed, and culturally more distant, joint venture was the preferred mode of U.S. agencies. On the other hand, in risk free areas such as Western Europe, North America, and Australia, which are also similar in culture with the U.S., U.S. agencies preferred to acquire the agencies rather than establish joint ventures.

To estimate the impact of the independent variables influencing the choice of entry mode, a binomial logistic regression was performed. The logistic regression technique is particularly suitable for the present data set in that it uses categorical variables to build an equation of the combination of predictors that best classifies dependent cases into a dichotomous outcome—those of joint venture and acquisition (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998).

Mode of entry is captured by a dummy variable, which takes a value of zero if the U.S. agency made an acquisition and of one if it established a joint venture with a foreign partner. The independent variables included GNP (host country's Gross National Product; Market size), RISK (a composite risk index of the host country), and CD (cultural distance between the U.S. and the host country).

The results of the binomial logistic regression model are presented in Table 5. The model has a high explanatory power, with a chi-square of 27.341 ($p = .001$). Table 6 shows that this model correctly classifies 81.3 percent of the observations.

A positive coefficient for an independent variable means that it tends to increase the probability that a U.S. agency entered through a joint venture. As predicted by Hypothesis 2 and 3, the coefficient of cultural distance (CD) and country risk (RISK) are both statistically significant with positive signs, suggesting that U.S. agencies tend to prefer joint ventures to acquisitions when the host country is culturally more distant and politically riskier. The coefficient of market size (GNP) is also significant at the .001 level, but enters with a positive sign. Joint ventures are therefore preferred when the market size of the host country is bigger. This result, however, is contradictory to the postulations of foreign direct investment literature discussed in the previous section.

Discussion

This paper investigated the impact of host country environmental factors on the entry mode choice of U.S. advertising agencies. The hypotheses were derived by using the theories and findings on the determinants of foreign direct investment in the manufacturing firms and service industries. The three hypotheses depicted U.S. advertising agencies empirically tested and two hypotheses out of three were accepted. First, joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the cultural distance between the host country and the U.S. is more distant. Second, joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the host country risk is higher.

The results are similar to the entry mode choice in manufacturing or other service industries, which sets up joint ventures to reduce risks associated with uncertainty. Consequently, the applicability of the theories of FDI aiming to reduce risk to advertising industries' foreign investments was supported.

However, the hypothesis relating market size and entry mode yielded a contradictory result. Joint ventures are preferred to acquisitions when the market size of the host country is bigger. The theoretical framework of foreign direct investment cannot account for this contradiction. Therefore, explanation for this discrepancy is speculative at best.

One possible reason is that the previous studies concentrated on the investment itself rather than the specific entry mode. Their conclusions are that market size of the host country is a significant determinant of foreign direct investment and has a positive impact on the flow of manufacturing FDI. Therefore, in the bigger market, a company is likely to choose a high-return mode such as an acquisition over a joint venture, which shares rewards with partners. However, the findings of this study suggest that profitability should be reconsidered as to whether acquisitions or joint ventures yield better performance.

A slightly different explanation for the contradictory result is the contribution of Japan and China. Although Japan is number one out of 48 countries in GNP, U.S. agencies' main activities in Japan were joint ventures rather than acquisitions. China also has a high GNP, fourth out of 48 countries in this study, but U.S. agencies' acquisitions were only two cases and the frequency of joint ventures were thirteen in China. It might be worked as a bias in the overall model and lead to the opposite direction in the market size hypothesis.

The contradiction can also be accounted for from the perspective of measurement. The selection of GNP to indicate market size is proper for the entire market size. However, it is better to use more practical proxies such as advertising revenues, media consumption of people, or GNP per capita. These variables can better explain the market attractiveness, which motivates a higher risk entry mode such as acquisitions.

In terms of preferred entry mode, mergers and acquisitions are far ahead of joint ventures in the frequency of transactions in the past two decades. Since the advertising agency business is less capital intensive, acquisitions are done easily with little capital investment. It should be noted, however, that economic, political and cultural factors contribute to the selection of entry modes. In other words, U.S. agencies mostly prefer acquisitions when they go to Western Europe. On the other hand, they choose joint ventures when they go to Asia, Eastern Europe and Africa. Therefore, joint ventures have been viewed as a viable alternative to enter the new markets since they allow agencies the opportunity to obtain local knowledge and culture and reduce investment risk.

As a consequence, environmental factors such as market size, country risk, and cultural distance of the host country work as important criteria in the selection of entry mode by U.S. advertising agencies in the international markets.

Although this study found that the host country's environment is a critical factor in decisions regarding the preferred investment mode, it lacks the dynamics of determinants of entry mode decision-making. Entry mode selection is influenced by situational contingencies at different levels: nation, industry, and firm. Therefore, these multilevel determinants should be considered simultaneously in future studies.

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Table 1. Acquisitions in the International Markets

Acquirer	Amount	Percentage
U.S.	247	41.0
U.K.	154	25.5
France	108	17.9
Japan	23	3.8
Switzerland	13	2.2
Germany	9	1.5
Australia	8	1.3
Spain	6	1.0
Canada	5	0.9
Others	30	4.9
Total	603	100

Table 2. U.S. Acquisitions of Foreign Agencies

Country	Amount	Country	Amount
Western Europe	**122 (49.4%)**	Korea	7 (2.8%)
U.K.	40 (16.2%)	Japan	5 (2.0%)
Germany	25 (10.1%)	Hong Kong	5 (2.0%)
Spain	10 (4.0%)	Singapore	4 (1.6%)
France	9 (3.6%)	Thailand	3 (1.2%)
Finland	5 (2.0%)	China	2 (0.8%)
Sweden	5 (2.0%)	Taiwan	2 (0.8%)
Belgium	5 (2.0%)	Malaysia	1 (0.4%)
Netherlands	5 (2.0%)	Turkey	1 (0.4%)
Norway	4 (1.6%)	**Pacific Asia**	**15 (6.1%)**
Italy	3 (1.2%)	Australia	13 (5.3%)
Switzerland	3 (1.2%)	New Zealand	2 (0.8%)
Austria	3 (1.2%)	**Africa**	**3 (1.2%)**
Ireland	3 (1.2%)	Zimbabwe	1 (0.4%)
Greece	1 (0.4%)	Kenya	1 (0.4%)
N. America	**26 (10.5%)**	South Africa	1 (0.4%)
Canada	26 (10.5%)	**Middle East**	**7 (2.8%)**
S. America	**28 (11.3%)**	Israel	4 (1.6%)
Brazil	12 (4.9%)	Kuwait	2 (0.8%)
Argentina	9 (3.6%)	UAE	1 (0.4%)
Portugal	4 (1.6%)	**Eastern Europe**	**7 (2.8%)**
Mexico	1 (0.4%)	Hungary	3 (1.2%)
Chile	1 (0.4%)	Poland	2 (0.8%)
Peru	1 (0.4%)	Czech	1 (0.4%)
Asia	**39 (15.8%)**	Russia	1 (0.4%)
India	9 (3.6%)	**Total**	**247 (100%)**

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Table 3. Cross-border Joint Ventures of U.S. Agencies

Country	Amount	Country	Amount
Western Europe	**20 (23.5%)**	Taiwan	1(1.2%)
U.K.	12 (14.1%)	Turkey	1(1.2%)
France	5 (5.9%)	Indonesia	1 (1.2%)
Germany	1 (1.2%)	Malaysia	1 (1.2%)
Italy	1 (1.2%)	**Pacific Asia**	**1 (1.2%)**
Switzerland	1 (1.2%)	Australia	1 (1.2%)
N. America	**7 (8.2%)**	**Africa**	**1 (1.2%)**
Canada	7 (8.2%)	Kenya	1 (1.2%)
S. America	**3 (3.5%)**	**Middle East**	**1 (1.2%)**
Argentina	1 (1.2%)	Saudi Arabia	1 (1.2%)
Portugal	1 (1.2%)	**Eastern Europe**	**9 (10.6%)**
Panama	1 (1.2%)	Russia	4 (4.7%)
Asia	**43 (50.6%)**	Romania	2 (2.4%)
China	13 (15.3%)	Hungary	1 (1.2%)
Japan	11 (12.9%)	Poland	1 (1.2%)
Korea	6 (7.1%)	Estonia	1 (1.2%)
India	4 (4.7%)		
Thailand	3 (3.5%)	**Total**	**85 (100%)**

Table 4. Cross-tabulation U.S. Acquisition and Joint Venture by Regions

Region	MA	JV
Western Europe	122 (49.4%)	20 (23.5%)
Eastern Europe	7 (2.8%)	9 (10.6%)
Asia	39 (15.8%)	43 (50.6%)
South America	28 (11.3%)	3 (3.5%)
Africa	3 (1.2%)	3 (3.5%)
North America	26 (10.7%)	7 (8.2%)
Middle East	7 (2.8%)	1 (1.2%)
Pacific Rim	15 (6.1%)	1 (1.2%)
Total	247 (100%)	83 (100%)

Chi-Square = 55.792, df = 7, P< .001

Table 5. Parameter estimates for binomial logit model: JVs vs. Acquisitions

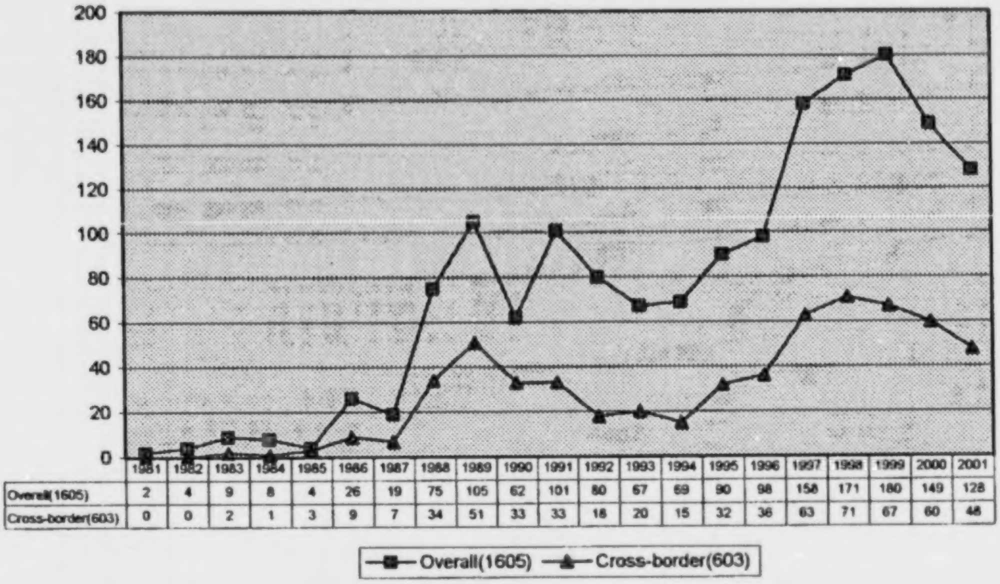
Variable	*B*	Wald	df	sig	Exp (*B*)
Constant	-3.071	56.469	1	.000	.046
RISK	.020	3.992	1	.046	1.020
CD	.470	17.835	1	.000	1.601
GNP	.001	15.587	1	.000	1.001

-2 Log likelihood: 332.243
Model chi-square: 27.341
p value: .001

Table 6. Classification Table

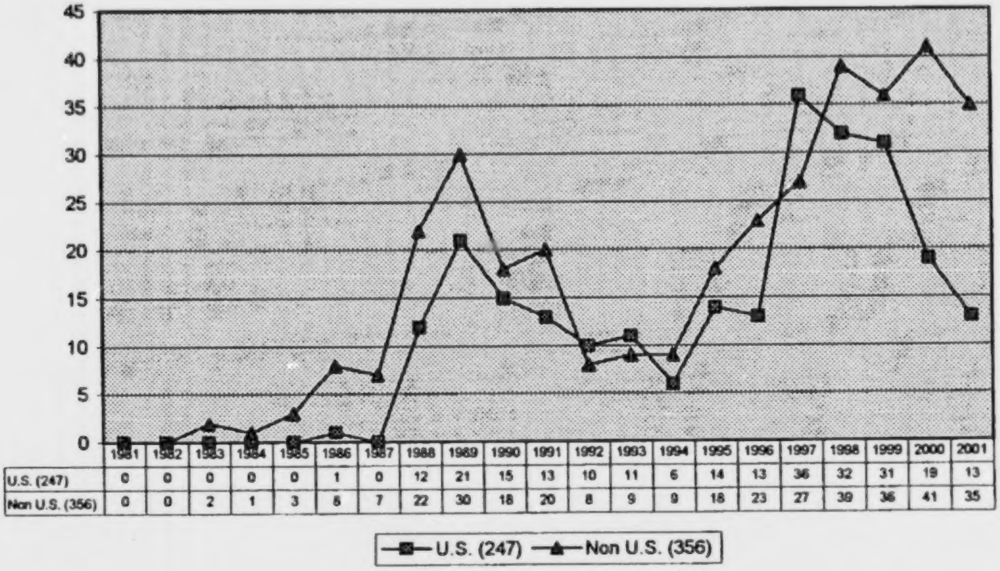
		Predicted		
		Acquisition	Joint Venture	Correct %
Observed	Acquisition	239	8	96.8
	Joint Venture	54	31	36.5
Overall %				81.3

Figure 1. M&A (1981 - 2001)



	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Overall(1605)	2	4	9	8	4	26	19	75	105	62	101	80	67	69	90	98	158	171	180	149	128
Cross-border(603)	0	0	2	1	3	9	7	34	51	33	33	18	20	15	32	36	63	71	67	60	48

Figure 2. Cross-border M&A (1981 - 2001)



	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
U.S. (247)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12	21	15	13	10	11	6	14	13	36	32	31	19	13
Non U.S. (356)	0	0	2	1	3	8	7	22	30	18	20	8	9	9	18	23	27	39	36	41	35

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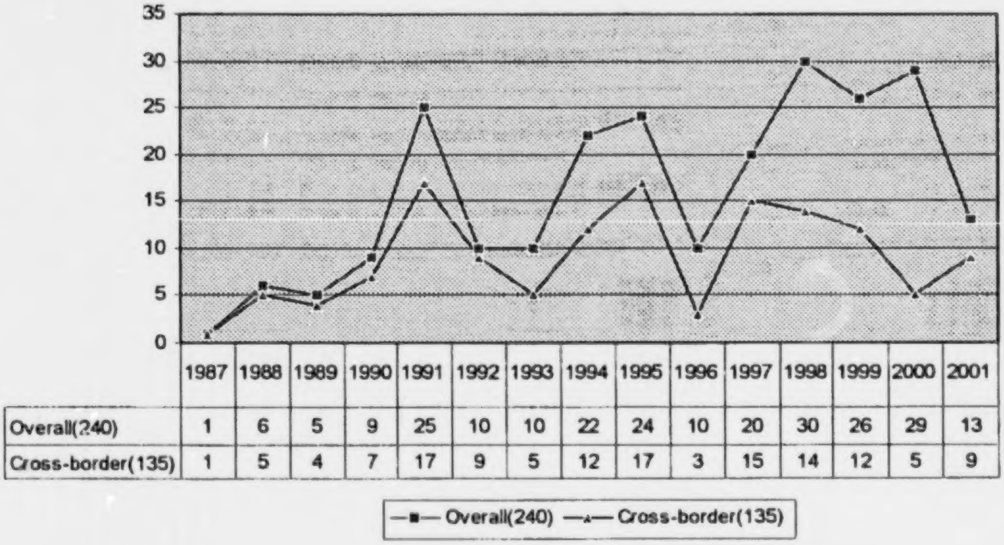
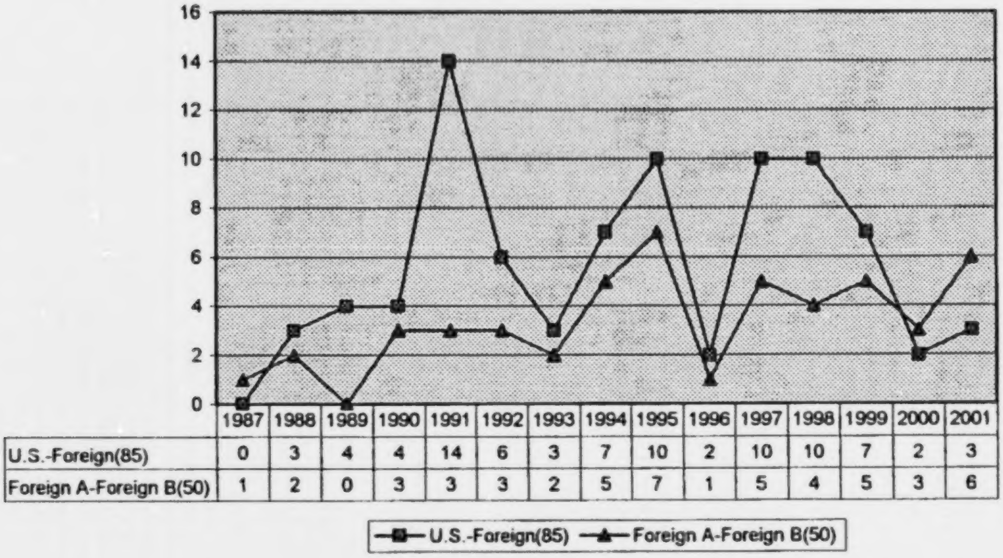
Figure 3. Joint Venture (1987 - 2001)



	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Overall(240)	1	6	5	9	25	10	10	22	24	10	20	30	26	29	13
Cross-border(135)	1	5	4	7	17	9	5	12	17	3	15	14	12	5	9

Figure 4. Cross-border JV (1987- 2001)



	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
U.S.-Foreign(85)	0	3	4	4	14	6	3	7	10	2	10	10	7	2	3
Foreign A-Foreign B(50)	1	2	0	3	3	3	2	5	7	1	5	4	5	3	6

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Adv

ANTI-DRINKING AND DRIVING PSAs:
PERSUASIVE APPEALS AND IMAGES

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INTRODUCTION

The use of television public service announcements (PSAs) is a growing method for publicizing awareness of social issues. They have been used as a key feature in creating awareness for prevention of alcohol-impaired driving (DeJong & Atkin, 1995; Treise, Wolburg, & Otness, 1999). Anti-drinking and driving public service announcements have developed notoriety in the past decade and a half due to their well-known developers and supporters, such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the United States Department of Transportation, the Ad Council and the major television networks, including NBC, CBS and ABC (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). With cases of drunk driving increasing, the need for more public awareness has put the issue on the forefront of social issues (Slater, 1999).

In the United States, drunk driving accidents are the leading cause of death in young people age 15-24 (Treise, Wolburg, & Otness, 1999). In 1999, approximately 15,786 people died in alcohol-related automobile accidents (MADD, 2000). Also, 38% of all traffic fatalities in 1999 were alcohol-related (MADD, 2000). Drunk driving accidents cost society a reported 45 billion dollars each year in actual damages, not including pain and suffering, which brings the financial ramifications up substantially, to an estimated 116 billion dollars (MADD, 2000). Alcohol affects people negatively aside from drinking and driving. "About two-thirds of all violent behavior, half of all physical injuries and most property damage on university campuses are associated with alcohol consumption" (Black & Smith, 1994, p. 375). The frequency of drinking and the amount of consumption among high school seniors and college students is so serious that it has become a national health problem (Gries, Black, & Coster, 1995). These statistics show that excessive drinking is a serious social issue. Thousands of people die and are injured each year because of drinking and driving. This leads us to question the messages used in an attempt to prevent people from drinking and driving. What are the most common types of images and appeals used? To provide one answer to this, the researchers investigated public service announcements.

Public service announcements have allowed society to become more aware of and involved with issues that affect the world (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). PSAs are non-paid messages, usually produced by non-profit organizations, created mainly to establish awareness of a particular issue. "General awareness PSAs are designed to increase public recognition of a problem and establish it as a primary concern" (DeJong & Atkin, 1995, p. 61. Drunken driving PSAs are mainly broadcast through television, although there are radio and print PSAs on air and in circulation. Public service announcements are commonly used by non-profit organizations because the broadcast airtime or print space is donated by the media (Treise, Wolburg, & Otness, 1999). Government organizations have also been active in the development of public service announcements. The development of effective anti-drinking and driving public service announcements could make a difference in saving lives.

Purpose of the Study

Understanding the different communication tactics involved in anti-drinking and driving public service announcements is the focal point of this study.

Researchers examined the content of anti-drinking and driving PSAs, and identified the persuasive appeals used and the images portrayed in the PSAs. The use of content analysis is the most appropriate methodology to conduct this study, and it is used to determine the number of times certain appeals and images appear together in national anti-drinking and driving television public service announcements.

The first part of this study is a partial replication of studies conducted by Slater (1999) and DeJong and Atkin (1995) analyzing the behavioral influence strategies that appear in anti-drinking and driving PSAs. The second part of this study, specifically the second research question, addresses what images or pictures most often appear in the PSAs. This aspect is examined in an effort to determine if there is a significant relationship between the images presented and the persuasive appeals used in the PSAs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been several studies on anti-drinking and driving PSAs. A landmark study by Slater (1999) serves as a partial foundation for this study. Slater analyzed behavioral influence strategies in drinking and driving PSAs (Slater, 1999). Slater explained the behavior change strategies generally found in anti-drinking and driving PSAs and how often celebrities appeared in the various types of messages (Slater, 1999). The main purpose of the study was to better understand what went into the making of anti-drinking and driving PSAs in terms of behavior influencing appeals and celebrity endorsement (Slater, 1999). The author collected 189 national anti-drinking and driving PSAs to analyze (Slater, 1999). The study identified the most common types of strategies used in anti-drinking and driving PSAs, including fear appeals, rational appeals, positive/social modeling appeals and empathy appeals (Slater, 1999).

DeJong and Atkin (1995) analyzed national anti-drinking and driving PSAs from 1987-1992 in order to better understand message design (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). They did this in an effort to recommend alternative, more effective ways of utilizing PSAs in this area. DeJong and Atkin also discussed how PSA campaigns could create general awareness, individual behavior change, and public action.

Other researchers have also examined the importance of anti-drinking and driving PSAs in a variety of ways. Atkin (1990) cited the importance of PSAs, which typically warn against drunk driving. Teinowitz (1997) reported about the Ad Council and the pact they developed with the networks to begin using the stars of certain networks in PSAs in order to attract attention to the PSAs (Teinowitz, 1997).

Also, there have been studies on the use of various persuasive appeals, which in turn affect PSA development. "To be effective, a public health campaign must recognize how the audiences perceive the topic as personally relevant" (LaTour & Rotfeld, 1997, p. 46).

Public service announcements and advertising are established parts of mass communications. "Public service advertising is a pervasive, yet highly specialized form of communication utilized to disseminate information on public issues to the masses. Its purpose is to encourage individual response to social problems" (Lynn, 1974, p. 622). Public service announcements have opened the eyes of society to certain social issues (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). PSAs are instrumental in getting the word out about social issues. They are regarded by the public as a trustworthy source of information (Walters et al., 1997). The use of PSAs is a viable part of the promotion of anti-drinking and driving awareness. The use of such PSAs is fundamental in message exposure to the audience.

PSA Appeals

The most frequent appeals used in PSAs are emotional and rational. Experts debate the most effective appeal to use and in what instance they should be used (Lee & Davie, 1997). Lee and Davie (1997) explained that persuasive message types are directed to the message content itself and the sensitive condition of the audience. Appeals that fall under the category of either rational or emotional appeals are informative appeals, empathy appeals, fear appeals and social modeling/positive appeals (Slater, 1999). These are the appeals most often portrayed in anti-drinking and driving PSAs (Slater, 1999).

Fear appeals are used in PSAs, but the level of their effectiveness is unknown (Keller & Block, 1996). Keller and Block (1996) stated that fear appeals are often either too basic or they seem unrealistic because of the severity. There are, however, supporters of the use of fear appeals. LaTour, Snipes, and Bliss (1996) affirm that "... subjects better remember and more frequently recall ads that portray fear than they do warm or upbeat ads or ads with no emotional content" (p. 60). Fear appeals are often used in advertising as well as PSAs. Fear arousal also has been shown to be a necessary requirement for behavior change in regards to threat communication (Schoenbachler & Whittler, 1996).

Informative appeals are considered to be a more rational type of appeal that provides facts to the audience, which supports the message's credibility (Slater, 1999). Informative appeals often use celebrities to endorse the message of the PSA. This can be a help and sometimes a hindrance for the message provider. This is true because sometimes the celebrity, if not actually linked to the cause, can create skepticism in the mind of the viewers and therefore void the message of the PSA (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). Celebrities sometimes are not useful in PSAs because of four reasons according to DeJong and Atkin (1995). First, they can sometimes overpower the message; second, they can lose their allure; third, they could do something in their private life that could jeopardize the campaign; and fourth, they could be viewed as doing something just because they were paid (DeJong & Atkin, 1995).

Social modeling appeal, which is the approach that emphasizes modeling and portrayal of reinforcement of desirable behavior in messages, is used in PSAs in an effort to provide a positive reinforcement message for the viewer (Slater, 1999). This type of message is used to show the viewer that certain behavior secured certain rewards (Slater, 1999). For instance, if one designates a sober driver and that driver does not drink and drive, then passengers run a much smaller risk of being injured in a drunk driving accident.

Social Marketing Theory

David Black and Mark Smith (1994) wrote about reducing alcohol consumption among university students and based their program design strategies on social marketing theory. The authors used social marketing theory to "…specify the domain and to develop broad, open-ended questions regarding alcohol abuse prevention and reduction of personal alcohol consumption" (Black & Smith, 1994, p. 376). The results of the study showed that a program to reduce alcohol consumption among college students would be successful, with the help of social marketing theory and the marketing mix.

Julie Gries, David Black and Daniel Coster looked at how social marketing theory could be used as a theoretical framework for the development of a university anti-alcohol program (Gries, Black, & Coster, 1995). "Social marketing theory may serve as one means of designing a marketing campaign to abate apathy among students and generate interest in alcohol reduction as indicated by increased attendance at intervention programs" (Gries, Black, & Coster, 1995, p. 348). The study used university students in control and treatment groups to test the effectiveness of the recruitment materials. The authors stated that the responses of the participants of the groups implied that the recruitment of the alcohol program was very effective when using the social marketing theory (Gries, Black, & Coster, 1995).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions in this study address some common concerns regarding the development of material contained in anti-drinking and driving PSAs. The first research question was shaped after a research question in Slater's (1999) content analysis of behavioral influence strategies. This research question looked for the most common behavior change strategies (also known as appeals), used in anti-drinking and driving national television PSAs. Slater found in his study that nearly half of all of the PSAs studied were informative and that empathy appeals were more common than fear appeals or social modeling appeals (Slater, 1999).

The first research question in this project looked at the persuasive appeals or behavior change strategies found in anti-drinking and driving PSAs.

RQ1: What types of persuasive appeals are commonly found in national anti-drinking and driving television public service announcements?

H1: Anti-drinking and driving PSAs will use informative appeals to reach their audience more than other appeals.

Informative appeals play a major role in all forms of PSAs, especially anti-drinking and driving PSAs. These types of appeals are often used in an effort to increase audience knowledge of the issue and are often referred to as rational appeals (Slater, 1999). There are problems with audience retention with rational/informative appeals. They are usually beneficial in creating awareness of the issue, but not very effective in bringing about behavior change (Slater, 1999). There is the question of why would informative/educational appeals be used most often if they do not create behavior change. It is possible they are used the most because they create awareness, as described in social marketing theory, which is the first step in changing behavior.

H2: Empathy appeals will be contained in the content of the anti-drinking and driving PSAs more than fear appeals but less than informative appeals.

Slater (1999) stated that empathy appeals are commonly portrayed in anti-drinking and driving PSAs and often serve as a middle ground between inducing fear and positive stimulation. Slater also mentioned that these types of messages often promote consequences that others have faced. This is done in hopes of receiving empathy from the audience (Slater, 1999).

H3: Fear appeals will be used in the content of anti-drinking and driving PSAs fewer times than informative or empathy appeals.

Fear appeals are also a frequent persuasive tactic used in PSAs. Fear appeals often promote the formation of defensive tactics on the part of the audience, and if complied with, may be a substitute for the risk behavior (Slater, 1999).

H4: Social modeling appeals and positive appeals will appear least of all in the content of anti-drinking and driving PSAs.

Social modeling appeals are used in PSAs as a way to project a positive image associated with a certain behavior (Slater, 1999). This type of image is very important in the context that behavior reinforcement is a key component of this appeal.

Images portrayed are very important elements in the composition of PSAs. Images are the visual elements that combine with the words to create the appeal of the PSA. Where the appeals are the feelings that the viewers take away from the PSA, the images are the actual visual content of the PSA. The images that have been mostly associated with anti-drinking and driving PSAs and were coded for in this study are as follows: victims/family, experts, graphic scenes, and spokespersons. The images were coded as variables with nominal levels of measurement.

The second research question focused on identifying the various images portrayed in anti-drinking and driving PSAs.

RQ2: What types of images are being portrayed in the content of national anti-drinking and driving television public service announcements?

H1: Informative appeals in anti-drinking and driving PSAs will contain the image of a spokesperson most frequently as the main attribute to its appeal.

Informative appeals can be effective when they use a spokesperson or celebrity endorsement of their message (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). Celebrity endorsements are very popular within PSAs (DeJong & Atkin, 1995). Sometimes, however, there is a risk involved because they can either add or take away from the credibility of the message of the PSA (DeJong & Atkin, 1995).

H2: Anti-drinking and driving PSAs using empathy appeals in their content will feature the victims most frequently as the main subject.

DeJong and Atkin (1995) state in their study of anti-drinking and driving PSAs that in a majority of empathy appeals victims or the story of the victim were the focal point of the PSA. This was done in an effort to have the audience relate to the victim in some fashion (DeJong & Atkin, 1995).

H3: Anti-drinking and driving PSAs using fear appeals will focus on the use of graphic images and consequences.

Fear appeals are often used in PSAs by showing the dangers involved with drinking and driving. The most common portrayal of consequences that is used in fear appeals in hopes of gaining the attention of the audience is the image of a car crash. Others may use a tombstone or a coffin to create fear in the viewer. This, however, backfires in some instances and PSAs are often better served by producing "...the onset of a moderate level of fear followed by an explication of the simple, concrete steps that people can take on their own behalf" (DeJong & Atkin, 1995, p. 70).

H4: Anti-drinking and driving PSAs, which use social modeling/positive appeals, will feature educationally based information and emotional encouragement to the viewers.

Social modeling appeals are important if they are able to produce a positive association with the PSA (Slater, 1999). This type of message is often referred to as having an emotional connotation in which it provides the audience with a situation that reinforces an idea that the audience already adheres to (Slater, 1999). Social modeling appeals may use educational information, such as a spokesperson explaining situations and what they would do in those situations. This may establish a foundation of how viewers can handle drinking and driving situations, as well as offer emotional encouragement.

The first research question and hypotheses replicate previous studies; the second research question and hypotheses are intended to determine which images are used most frequestly with which appeals, an aspect of this area of research that has not been explored.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilized content analysis to measure the various appeals and images that appear in national anti-drinking and driving television PSAs. Slater (1999) used content analysis in examining the messages of 189 national anti-drinking and driving PSAs that were produced over a fifteen-year period. Slater looked at the behavioral influence strategies or appeals portrayed in the message (Slater, 1999). He also analyzed the use of celebrity endorsements in the anti-drinking and driving PSAs (Slater, 1999).

DeJong and Atkin (1995) utilized content analysis as well. They studied anti-drinking and driving television PSAs aired from 1987-1992. The researchers selected 137 PSAs, which aired on a national level, and used content analysis to determine what common elements were used in the PSAs in an effort to offer suggestions for the development of more up-to-date, effective PSAs.

Sample

This study analyzed national anti-drinking and driving television PSAs from a variety of sources highly regarded for their development of such PSAs. The sources (listed below) are known for their efforts to combat drinking and driving and researchers in the area of drinking and driving PSAs have used the PSAs, produced by these well-known organizations, in their studies. This sample is a purposive sample, so the better-known producers of the PSAs were contacted because of likely availability of PSAs. The PSAs analyzed were produced by Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the Department of Transportation, the Ad Council, the three largest television networks (NBC, ABC and CBS), the Century Council, the National Association of Broadcasters and athletic sponsors, such as the National Basketball Association, Major League Baseball and TEAM (Techniques for Effective Alcohol Management). The PSAs were collected from most of the organizations mentioned above. Some PSAs were collected from Dr. Michael Slater of Colorado State University (see Appendix C). Dr. Slater contributed a tape of older PSAs which he had received from Dr. William DeJong of Harvard University. Both Dr. Slater and Dr. DeJong have done extensive research in the area of anti-drinking and driving PSAs. The tape had an assortment of PSAs that were collected over the years from a variety of sources, some of which were mentioned above.

The unit of analysis for this study is each appeal that appears in each PSA. The major and minor images that appear with each appeal are noted to determine whether certain appeals appear more often with particular images. If an appeal appeared at least once in the PSA, it should be noted, the total number of times it was used in each PSA was not calculated. If the coders found there was a second appeal present, they recorded it as well. The coders also looked for major and minor images associated with each appeal found in the PSA, as well as the number of times they appeared (see Appendix A).

Some 185 PSAs were collected. Slater (1999) gathered 189 PSAs. DeJong and Atkin (1995) reviewed national television PSA campaigns and gathered 137 anti-drinking and driving PSAs just from 1987-1992.

There are and were potential limitations to the sample collected. It was a priority in this study to gather non-repetitive anti-drinking and driving television PSAs. Any PSA considered to be repetitive was not coded. If PSAs were similar, but were different in length they were coded. Eighteen of the 185 PSAs coded were not found to have the date when they were produced. The coders estimated the time period based on clothing, hairstyles and even makes of automobiles and surroundings. This is perceived as a limitation because most of the PSAs had the exact year and even month they were produced. The absence of the date causes room for less reliability in this area.

Execution/Design

A pretest of 20 PSAs was conducted to determine if the coding sheet was appropriately constructed to analyze the PSAs thoroughly. After conducting the pretest, the researcher adjusted the coding sheet and coding sheet instructions to insure there would be very little confusion in the actual coding process.

Two females, ages 24 and 27, who were graduate students in Mass Communications at a large, public southwestern university coded the PSAs. There was a training session held with the coders before the first coding session, which lasted approximately thirty minutes. The coders were instructed to view the PSAs no more than three times. It was emphasized that they look at the definition of what the PSAs may consist of in terms of appeals and look at the length such appeals were present and also which appeal was the easiest to recall. The researcher wanted the coders to use their instinct and not to over analyze or possibly look for things that were not there. After the training was completed, an example PSA was shown to the coders and the researcher and the coders coded it together. The researcher remained in the room for a brief period to observe how the coders interacted with one another to form a decision and later checked in on the coders from time to time.

The coders worked together in a private environment, to arrive at a consensus on the coding decisions. If the coders at any time did not agree on a coding decision the primary researcher served as the tie-breaker between the two opposing options. This occurred twice during the first session of coding.

Data Treatment

The data collected in the study were mostly nominal level data with a few instances of interval data. The samples were coded and the various appeals found in the PSAs were logged by counting the number of occurrences of appeals and of images associated with the appeals.

Since a nominal level of measurement was used for this content analysis, it was appropriate to use a chi-square test for the statistical test in the study. The alpha level used was .05. The acceptance or rejection of hypotheses was dependent upon whether the data proved to be statistically significant.

Variables

The PSA origin(s) was considered important for possible later research in determining how various PSA developers construct their PSAs. The type of appeals used helped to answer the first research question of the study, which asks what types of persuasive appeals are commonly threaded through national anti-drinking and driving television PSAs.

The measurement for the major and minor images portrayed, as well as the frequency of their appearance in the PSAs, would lead to the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses for the second research question of the study. The image categories were derived from a combination of past research findings and the researchers' own speculations about what images would most often be found in association with certain appeals.

The measurement item information content was used in determining how the developers persuaded their audience in terms of overall information contained in the PSA. Contact information found in the PSA helped to identify the various ways PSA developers allow the viewers to contact them for further information. The information content categories and the contact information categories coded for in the study were devised from what the researcher had perceived as variables most likely to be found in the PSAs.

The length of the PSA was also coded to search for the significance between certain lengths of PSAs and the appeals or images that are most often portrayed in them.

RESULTS

The data were analyzed using SPSS. Cell size percentages were rounded up in the following tables. A chi-square test was not run when the total sample size was less than fifteen. In some cases, chi-square was run when some cell sizes were below five, as noted below.

Descriptive Statistics

The nonprofit group Mothers Against Drunk Driving sponsored the greatest number of PSAs at 55 (29.7% of all PSAs), followed by the Advertising Council with 41 PSAs (22.2%) and Network Television with 39 PSAs (21.1%) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Primary Sponsor of the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
MADD	55	29.7
Network Television	39	21.1
Department of Transportation	19	10.3
Athletic Sponsor	5	2.7
Advertising Council	41	22.2
Century Council	7	3.8
Other	19	10.3
Total	185	100.0

The majority of PSAs had no secondary sponsor (65.4%). Of the PSAs with a secondary sponsor, the U.S. Department of Transportation sponsored the greatest number at 29, or 15.7%, of all PSAs (see Table 2).

Table 2. Secondary Sponsor of the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Department of Transportation	29	15.7
Athletic Sponsor	5	2.7
Advertising Council	2	1.1
Other	28	15.1
No secondary sponsor	121	65.4
Total	185	100.0

There were few PSAs with tertiary sponsors (see Table 3).

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Table 3. Tertiary Sponsor of the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Department of Transportation	10	5.4
Advertising Council	2	1.1
Other	13	7.0
No third sponsor	160	86.5
Total	185	100.0

The most frequently used information content in the PSAs was a persuasive message without statistics (72.4%) followed by a personal story (18.4%) (see Table 4).

Table 4. Information Content of the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Statistics	9	4.9
Message with music in background	3	1.6
Persuasive message without statistics	134	72.4
Personal Story	34	18.4
Contact Information	2	1.1
Other	3	1.6
Total	185	100.0

The majority of the PSAs had no contact information provided in the PSAs (87.6%) (see Table 5).

Table 5. Contact Information in the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Phone number	14	7.6
Mailing Address	2	1.1
Web Address	7	3.8
No contact information	162	87.6
Total	185	100.0

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The majority of the PSAs were 30 seconds in length (59.5%), followed by the "other" category (25.4%) which was made up of 5 and 10 second PSAs (see Table 6).

Table 6. Length of the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
15 seconds	18	9.7
20 seconds	10	5.4
30 seconds	110	59.5
Other	47	25.4
Total	185	100.0

There was a similar distribution of the PSAs analyzed that were produced in the 1980s (39.5%) and in the 1990s (44.3%) (see Table 7).

Table 7. Decades the PSAs Were Produced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
	1980s	73	39.5	43.7
	1990s	82	44.3	49.1
	2000 & 2001	12	6.5	7.2
	Total	167	90.3	100.0
Missing	System	18	9.7	
Total		185	100.0	

Appeals and Images

Of the 185 PSAs viewed, 99, or 53.5%, were found to have informative/educational as the primary appeal in the PSA. The next most frequent appeal was empathy with 38, or 20.5%, followed by fear with 23, or 12.4%, the "other" category at 13 and (7%) and finally, social modeling with 12 or 6.5% (see Table 8).

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Table 8. Primary Appeal Used in the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Empathy	38	20.5
Informative/Educational	99	53.5
Social Modeling	12	6.5
Fear	23	12.4
Other	13	7.0
Total	185	100.0

Of the 185 PSAs viewed, 171, or 92.4%, were coded as having no secondary appeal. Fourteen of the PSAs were viewed as having a secondary appeal present in the PSA. Seven, of these 14 (50%) or 3.8% of all PSAs, were informative/educational. Three of the secondary appeals or 1.6% of all PSAs, were coded as social modeling. Two, or 1.1%, were coded as fear appeals; 1, or .5%, was coded as empathy, as well as 1, or .5%, was coded as "other" (see Table 9).

Table 9. Secondary Appeal Used in the PSAs

	Frequency	Percent
Empathy	1	.5
Informative/Educational	7	3.8
Social Modeling	3	1.6
Fear	2	1.1
Other	1	.5
No secondary appeal	171	92.4
Total	185	100.0

The major image found in the primary appeal was spokesperson male with 52, or 28.1%, of the total. The next most frequent major image portrayed was the "other" category with 39 or 21.1%. There were 37 images, or 20%, that portrayed victims/family as the major image in the primary appeal. Female spokespersons were found in 36, or 19.5%, of the PSAs. Graphic scenes that are symbolic were found in 20, or 10.8%, of the PSAs. An expert was found in only 1, or .5%, of the PSAs (see Table 10).

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Table 10. Major Image Found in the Primary Appeal

	Frequency	Percent
Victims/Family	37	20.0
Expert	1	.5
Graphic scenes that are symbolic	20	10.8
Spokesperson - Male	52	28.1
Spokesperson - Female	36	19.5
Other	39	21.1
Total	185	100.0

There was no secondary appeal, and therefore, no major image in a secondary appeal in 170, or 91.9%, of the PSAs. Spokesperson female represented 4, or 2.2%, of the total and the "other" category also had 4, or 2.2%, of the total. The next most frequent major image in the secondary appeal was spokesperson male with 3, or 1.6%. There were 2 images, or 1.1%, that portrayed victims/family as the major image in the secondary appeal. Graphic scenes that are symbolic were found in 1, or .5%, of the PSAs. An expert was found in only 1 or .5% of the secondary appeals in the PSAs (see Table 11).

Table 11. Major Image Found in the Secondary Appeal

	Frequency	Percent
Victims/Family	1	.5
Expert	1	.5
Graphic scenes that are symbolic	1	.5
Spokesperson - Male	3	1.6
Spokesperson - Female	4	2.2
Other	4	2.2
No major image because there is no secondary appeal	171	92.4
Total	185	100.0

There were 131, or 70.8%, of PSAs with a primary appeal that had no minor image portrayed in them. Forty-three, or 23.2%, of the minor images were in the "other" category. Five, or 2.7%, were coded as graphic scenes that were symbolic. Four, or 2.2%, were coded as spokesperson

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male. One, or .5%, was coded as victims/family and 1, or .5%, was coded as spokesperson female (see Table 12).

Table 12. Minor Image Found in the Primary Appeal

	Frequency	Percent
Victims/Family	1	.5
Graphic Scenes that are symbolic	5	2.7
Spokesperson - Male	4	2.2
Spokesperson - Female	1	.5
No minor image portrayed	131	70.8
Other	43	23.2
Total	185	100.0

One hundred eighty-three PSAs had no minor image portrayed in association with the secondary appeal. Of the remaining PSAs with a minor image portrayed in association with the secondary appeals there was 1, or .5%, that was the "other" category and 1, or .5%, was graphic scenes that were symbolic (see Table 13).

Table 13. Minor Image Found in the Secondary Appeal

	Frequency	Percent
Graphic Scenes that are symbolic	1	.5
No minor image portrayed	183	98.9
Other	1	.5
Total	185	100.0

Chi-Square Analysis of Appeals and Images

A 1 X 5 chi-square test run on the primary appeal showed statistical significance in the distribution of the primary appeals used in the 185 PSAs. Of the 185 PSAs with primary appeals, 99 were informative/educational, 38 used empathy, 23 used fear, 13 used "other" and 12 used social modeling ($X^2 = 141.676$, df = 4, $p < .001$) (see Table 14).

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Table 14. Primary Appeal Used in the PSAs

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Empathy	38	20.5	37.0
Informative/ Educational	99	53.5	37.0
Social Modeling	12	6.5	37.0
Fear	23	12.4	37.0
Other	13	7.0	37.0
Total	185	100.00	

$X^2 = 141.676$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$

A 1 X 6 chi-square test also showed statistical significance in that there is no secondary appeal in 171 of the 185 PSAs analyzed. Of the 14 PSAs that had a secondary appeal, 7 were informative/educational, 3 were social modeling, 2 were fear, and 1 was empathy, as well as 1 was placed in the "other" category ($X^2 = 765.432$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$) (see Table 15).

Table 15. Secondary Appeal Used in the PSAs

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Empathy	1	.5	30.8
Informative/ Educational	7	3.8	30.8
Social Modeling	3	1.6	30.8
Fear	2	1.1	30.8
Other	1	.5	30.8
No secondary appeal	171	92.4	30.8
Total	185	100.00	

$X^2 = 765.432$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$

Of the 99 informative/educational primary appeals found, 44 had a male spokesperson as the major image, 29 had a female spokesperson as the major image, 22 listed "other" as the major

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image, 3 listed graphic scenes as the major image, whereas only 1 listed an expert as the major image. A 1 X 5* chi-square test showed this distribution to be significant ($X^2 = 66.202$, df = 4, $p < .001$) (see Table 16).

Table 16. Major Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Informative/Educational

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Expert	1	1.0	19.8
Graphic scenes that are symbolic	3	3.0	19.8
Spokesperson - Male	44	44.4	19.8
Spokesperson - Female	29	29.3	19.8
Other	22	22.2	19.8
Total	99	99.90	

$X^2 = 66.202$, df = 4, $p < .001$

* There were no victims/family portrayed as the major image associated with the informative/educational primary appeal.

Of the 38 PSAs with empathy appeal as the primary appeal, 35 portrayed victims/family as the major image, and the other major images of graphic scenes, a female spokesperson and the "other" category were all tied at 1 each. A 1 X 4* chi-square test showed this distribution to be significant ($X^2 = 91.263$, df = 3, $p < .001$) (see Table 17).

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Table 17. Major Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Empathy

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Victims/Family	35	92.1	9.5
Graphic scenes that are symbolic	1	2.6	9.5
Spokesperson - Female	1	2.6	9.5
Other	1	2.6	9.5
Total	38	99.90	

$X^2 = 91.263$, df = 3, $p < .001$

* There were no male spokespersons or experts portrayed as the major image associated with the empathy primary appeal.

Of the 23 fear appeal PSAs, 16 had graphic scenes as the major image, and 3 had "other" as the major image. There were 2 PSAs with victims/family as the major image and 2 with male spokesperson as the major image. A 1 X 4* chi-square test showed this distribution to be significant ($X^2 = 24.478$, df = 3, $p < .001$) (see Table 18).

Table 18. Major Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Fear

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Victims/Family	2	8.7	5.8
Graphic scenes that are symbolic	16	69.6	5.8
Spokesperson - Male	2	8.7	5.8
Other	3	13.0	5.8
Total	23	100.00	

$X^2 = 24.478$, df = 3, $p < .001$

* There were no female spokespersons or experts portrayed as the major image associated with the fear primary appeal.

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A chi-square test was not run because of the small sample size. Of the 12 PSAs that had social modeling listed as the primary appeal, 7 had "other" listed as the major image, 3 had a female spokesperson listed as the major image and 2 had a male spokesperson listed as the major image (see Table 19).

Table 19. Major Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Social Modeling (Descriptive Statistics)

	Frequency	Percentage
Spokesperson - Male	2	16.7
Spokesperson - Female	3	25.0
Other	7	58.3
Total	12	100.00

Although the researchers did not specifically hypothesize about the use of major and minor images with primary and secondary appeals, they were analyzed in the study and the following results were found.

In the 99 PSAs that had informative/educational appeal listed as the primary appeal, there were 69 that had no minor image portrayed and 26 minor images listed as "other," as well as 2 male spokespersons, 1 female spokesperson and 1 graphic scene. This distribution was found to be statistically significant by the 1 X 5* chi-square test ($X^2 = 175.899$, df = 4, $p < .001$) (see Table 20).

Table 20. Minor Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Informative/Educational

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Graphic Scenes that are symbolic	1	1.0	19.8
Spokesperson - Male	2	2.0	19.8
Spokesperson - Female	1	1.0	19.8
No minor image portrayed	69	69.7	19.8
Other	26	26.3	19.8
Total	99	100.00	

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$X^2 = 175.899$, df = 4, $p < .001$

* There were no victims/family or experts portrayed as the minor image associated with the informative/educational primary appeal.

In the 38 PSAs that had empathy listed as the primary appeal, there were 31 that had no minor image portrayed and 4 "others" listed, as well as 2 graphic scenes and 1 victim/family. This distribution was found to be statistically significant by a 1 X 4* chi-square test ($X^2 = 65.368$, df = 3, $p < .001$) (see Table 21).

Table 21. Minor Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Empathy

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Victims/Family	1	2.6	9.5
Graphic Scenes that are symbolic	2	5.3	9.5
No minor image portrayed	31	81.6	9.5
Other	4	10.5	9.5
Total	38		

$X^2 = 65.368$, df = 3, $p < .001$

* There were no experts or male or female spokespersons portrayed as the minor image associated with the empathy primary appeal.

In the 23 PSAs that had fear listed as the primary appeal, there were 15 that had no minor image portrayed and 6 "others" listed, as well as 2 graphic scenes. This distribution was found to be statistically significant by a 1 X 3* chi-square test ($X^2 = 11.565$, df = 2, $p < .003$) (see Table 22).

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Table 22. Minor Image Found in the Primary Appeal: Fear

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N
Graphic Scenes that are symbolic	2	8.7	7.7
No minor image portrayed	15	65.2	7.7
Other	6	26.1	7.7
Total	23	100.00	

$X^2 = 11.565$, df = 2, $p < .003$

* There were no experts, victims/family, or male or female spokespersons portrayed as the minor image associated with the fear primary appeal.

In the 12 PSAs that had social modeling listed as the primary appeal, there were 8 that had no minor image portrayed and 4 listed as "others" as the minor image. There were not enough cases to run a chi-square test.

There were only 14 PSAs that had secondary appeals and there was not statistical significance in the major or minor images associated with any of the secondary appeals. In many of the cases, a chi-square test could not be run because there were not enough cases or because the variable was a constant.

CONCLUSIONS

Anti-drinking and driving television PSAs are an integral part of the effort to end drunk driving. They are designed to create awareness and possibly establish change in the behavior of viewers when it comes to making the decision to drive after they have been drinking or stopping someone from driving who has had too much to drink.

The use of appeals and images in PSAs makes it possible to reach different audiences through various methods, possibly reaching a broader, more diverse audience. This study examined the use of appeals and images in anti-drinking and driving PSAs from a different standpoint. It is important to discover what appeals and images make up these PSAs, so it may later be determined if they were effective and if they did create awareness and eventually change some behavior patterns in regards to the decision to drink and drive. The use of appeals in anti-drinking and driving PSAs has been studied before, but the images portrayed in association with the appeals have not.

Research Questions and Hypotheses – Appeals

Past research has shown there are a few appeals that are most often used in anti-drinking and driving PSAs and those were the same appeals identified in this study. The appeals of informative/educational, empathy, fear and social modeling were found in the PSAs analyzed in the study. The appeals listed above were found in that order as the appeals most often portrayed in the PSAs.

The distribution of the appeals found in the PSAs was found to be statistically significant and the results answered the first research question and made it possible to reject the null hypotheses and accept the four hypotheses under the first research question. The distribution of the primary appeals in the PSAs proved the first four hypotheses under research question one to be accurate and of the 185 PSAs analyzed it was established that the distribution of the appeals was statistically significant. Over half of the PSAs, 99, or 53.5%, were found to have informative/educational appeals as the primary appeal followed by empathy appeals with 38, or 20.5%. Twenty-three of the PSAs, or 12.4%, were found to have fear appeals as the primary appeal, as well as 13 or 7.0% were placed in the "other" category. Social modeling appeals were found the least with 12, or 6.5%, of the total PSAs.

It was also found that there were only 14 PSAs out of 185 that contained secondary appeals. Of those secondary appeals, informative/educational was the most frequent found followed by social modeling, fear, and empathy. The distribution of the secondary appeals and the fact that 171 PSAs did not having a secondary appeal was statistically significant. Previous research was not found on the analysis of secondary appeals in these types in PSAs. It is concluded that producers may not use secondary appeals because the PSA would then contain too much information for the viewer to comprehend in such a small amount of time. According to information processing theory "... as we absorb large quantities of information, we are consciously aware of only a small fraction of it" (Baran & Davis, 2000, p. 272).

Images

Overwhelmingly in the 99 informative/educational primary appeals, spokespersons were the main images found. The distribution of the images that were found to be portrayed with the informative/educational appeals was statistically significant and the first hypothesis under the second research question was accepted. Spokespersons most likely are used in informative/educational appeals because the appeal is trying to give information to the viewer and the viewer may respond more to the information being given by another person, such as a spokesperson, or perhaps even a celebrity. It was also very interesting to find that an expert was only found once as the major image associated with informative/educational appeals. One might think that an expert would be an ideal choice in educating the audience about the issue of drinking and driving; however, a younger target audience may not relate to an authority figure like an expert, but may relate to a younger spokesperson.

In the 38 PSAs that had empathy appeals as the primary appeal, victims or family members were the main image found. The results showed there was statistical significance in the distribution of the images associated with the empathy appeals. The second hypothesis under the second research question was accepted. Empathy appeals are used to create emotion in the viewer and the easiest way to create that emotion is by showing a real person who died or who lost someone close to them because of a drunk driver.

In the 23 PSAs that had fear appeals as the primary appeal, graphic scenes were found as the image most associated with the appeal. The results showed there was statistical significance in the distribution of the images associated with the fear appeals. The third hypothesis under the second research question was accepted. To invoke fear in the viewer the PSA must show something that would create the fear, and graphic images, such as a car crash or a coffin, may create that fear for some viewers.

In the very few (12) PSAs that had social modeling as the primary appeal, there were not enough cases to warrant a chi-square test. The descriptive statistics, however, showed the major images associated with the social modeling appeal to be 3 male spokespersons, 2 female spokespersons and 7 "others," which consisted of mostly actors, the use of two spokespersons at

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once, a party and a band. The distribution of the images was diverse and likely would not have shown significance because of the small number of cases.

It was also interesting to find in this study that a majority of the PSAs, no matter the appeal used, did not have minor images associated with the PSA. This may be for the same reason that there was no secondary appeal used in a majority of the PSAs. The producers of the PSAs may have believed that there was not enough time in the PSAs to show major and minor images and that it might have been too much information for the viewers to process. If there was too much information for the viewers to process, then the entire message may have been lost. Another factor may have been cost. It may have been more cost efficient for the producers to create simpler PSAs with only one image portrayed, as opposed to more elaborate PSAs with more than one image.

The 14 PSAs that did have secondary appeals did not show statistically significant relationships to any major or minor images. This was probably found because there were so few PSAs that had secondary appeals to begin with.

Overall, the results found in this study supported past research and seven of the eight hypotheses were accepted. The results of the study answer the questions of what appeals and images truly makeup anti-drinking and driving television PSAs. The results affirmed what was already known in the area of appeals in anti-drinking and driving PSAs, but the results offered new insight into the area of what images are most often portrayed in association with the appeals in the PSAs.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations to the study. The first limitation is the fact that the PSAs were collected as a convenience sample and not a random sample. Over half of the PSAs collected came from one source. Although those PSAs were diverse in their sponsorships, it represented a problem that the researcher faced in obtaining older PSAs and PSAs from certain organizations. The researcher found it difficult in several instances to gain responses in a timely manner from some anti-drinking and driving organizations. It is important to bridge the gap between researchers in the area of anti-drinking and driving PSAs and the producers of the PSAs. They should be able to work together to produce more effective messages.

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There is also a possible limitation resulting from the coders used. Both of the coders were female and it might have been useful to have a male coder to allow for a different perspective in interpreting the PSAs. The number of coders was not perceived as a limitation because the primary researcher served as a tie-breaker in any situations that arose in which the coders could not agree on an answer.

Another limitation was a misuse of words in the coding sheet regarding one of the hypotheses. It did not elicit the kind of data the researcher had anticipated. The researcher was attempting to determine a certain type of image associated with one of the appeals for a particular hypothesis and that point was not identified through the coding sheet.

Importance of the Research and Future Research

This research is important because statistics show that approximately 16,000 people die each year because someone decided to drink and drive (MADD, 2000). This study is about understanding what appeals and images most often make up anti-drinking and driving PSAs. The explorative study was done to enable future research to be conducted on how to make better, more effective PSAs that will influence people to not drink and drive. To make more effective PSAs, producers and researchers must first understand what is currently in PSAs and then discover if it is working, perhaps by comparing the time frames that PSAs have run and whether statistics show any decline in the number of drunk driving accidents, or the use of case studies or personal interviews with adults who consume alcohol.

This study was done in an effort to create a foundation for future research in the area of anti-drinking and driving television PSAs. This study is the first step in establishing what images are portrayed in the PSAs. Further research could be done by surveys or interviews to determine if viewers have seen the PSAs and if they have stopped people from drinking and driving. A focus group could also be conducted with targeted audiences to discover what they feel are effective PSAs. Also, an experimental design study could be done using this study as the framework. A researcher could use this study to set up the types of appeals and images used in PSAs and then create PSAs using those appeals and images to determine if they are effective with target audiences. In-depth interviews with anti-drinking and driving PSA producers could also be

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a research project that would unveil how they decide what appeals and images to portray in their PSAs.

Although this research study focused solely on the content of the PSAs, and not the effectiveness, it is the hope of the researchers that further research can utilize this study and investigate the effectiveness of anti-drinking and driving PSAs. The creation of more effective PSAs is crucial to the fight to end drinking and driving. The ultimate goal is to combat this serious social issue that plagues not only our nation, but also our world.

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The Decision to Major in Advertising:

Gender Differences and Other Factors

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The Decision to Major in Advertising: Gender Differences and Other Factors

Abstract

This study surveyed 275 advertising majors from two southwestern universities to determine the factors influencing their selection of their major. Many of the students reported being attracted to advertising because of its creative aspects. Reflecting this, more than one-third of the students expressed a desire to work as art directors or graphic designers after graduation. When asked about sources of information about aspects of their advertising major, most frequently cited were television, movies and ads in the media. Almost half of the students declared the advertising major after earlier majoring in other disciplines; many cited business or marketing as their first majors.

In comparison to male advertising majors, women had higher grade point averages, chose to major in advertising earlier and were more likely to have selected advertising as their first and only major in college. Men were more likely to label advertising as an "easy major" and less apt to say they planned to work in the advertising profession after college graduation.

The Decision to Major in Advertising:

Gender Differences and Other Factors

In the most basic undergraduate classes, advertising educators stress the importance of understanding why a consumer would select a particular product. As would be demonstrated in the classroom, this information affects all aspects of the campaign, including the message and the media that will carry this message.

These same principles from the marketing concept could be applied to the professor's own end product: the students who choose to major in advertising. Information about these students and the reasons underlying the selection of their major would be helpful in meeting the individual needs of students, developing curriculum, making administrative decisions, recruiting future students, and serving the advertising industry.

Experience with students undoubtedly serves as an informal means of finding out some of the reasons underlying the selection of a major. But there is a dearth of such information that has been obtained via formal research methods. The purpose of this paper is to provide some baseline information as to the reasons underlying the decision to major in advertising. For example: What are the most and least favorite subjects of advertising majors? Their career plans? Are there really more women majoring in advertising than men? Are there identifiable patterns or attitudes that distinguish between the genders?

Literature Review

Choice of Major

There is already some available information on the choice of an advertising major. Ross and Johnson (2001) documented the number of advertising graduates in the U.S. the previous year at 4,945, and 2,254 with combined advertising/public relations degrees.

In a pilot study to ascertain why students become advertising majors, Kendrick (1998) concluded that advertising as a major was not on a high school student's "menu of subjects to study in college." The study reported that 75% of students made their decisions to major or minor in advertising after high school and that a majority of them said that they were not aware that there was an opportunity to major in advertising when they were in high school. College career advisors were not familiar with the advertising major or the advertising industry, and as a result, friends or relatives were the most common source of information about the advertising major for potential students.

A study of advertising majors at one university (Schweitzer, 1988) revealed that students were drawn to advertising because it was perceived as "interesting and challenging work" though the pay was believed to be low. According to this study, students were most interested in working in advertising creative departments when they left college. Smith (1987) surveyed news-editorial and public relations-advertising students about their attitude toward communication careers. News-editorial students believed public relations and advertising careers to be less useful to society and less prestigious but that they paid more than careers in news-ed. By contrast, the public-relations-advertising students believed their careers were more prestigious and useful to society than news-editorial careers, but rated the opportunity for financial reward about the same.

Gender differences in choice of college major

Several studies focus on sex discrimination and gender stereotyping in choice of college major (Blakemore & Low, 1984; Lyson, 1984; Stocking & Goldstein, 1992; Swoboda, 1980), while others deal with questions aimed as to why some fields of study attract more of one gender than another ("Are Our High School," 1994; Grandy, 1984; Lovely, 1987; Ramist, 1984).

Two studies have examined the gender ratio among advertising majors. In a national sample of communication students, Becker et al. (2000) reported 60% of the advertising graduates were women. Umphrey & Fullerton (2001) observed that more than three-quarters of the advertising majors were women in an analysis of the graduating class at one university.

Dawson-Threat and Huba, (1996) found that despite the fact that fewer than half of the students surveyed identified themselves with traditional sex roles, more than half chose majors that were traditionally associated with their gender; women were more likely to do so than men.

Researchers have examined choice of college major and its impact on human capital since the 1970s. The choices that men and women make when selecting their college majors affect the skills they bring to the work force (Turner, 1999) and therefore have been examined as a possible explanation for wage inequity among the sexes. Polacheck (1978) linked college major selection to gender discrimination in hiring practices among employers.

Eide (1994) noted that college major distribution changed from the 1970s. "Low-skill" fields such as education and letters became less popular in the 1980s and were replaced by "high-skill" fields such as engineering and business. According to Eide's study, women were responsible for this shift as they migrated toward high-skill majors (and thus higher paying fields) in the 1980s, contributing to the decline in the wage gap for male and female college graduates during that time. A later study (Turner, 1999) noted that during the next two decades, the shift did not continue and that differences between men and women in their choice of college major remained fairly stable, as did the differences in their earnings.

The trend for women to study in traditionally female oriented fields seems to remain. According to a recent survey of high school seniors (Melymuka, 2001), girls were five times less likely to consider technology-related college majors or careers (computer science and engineering) than boys for whom it was the top choice. Though girls were equally computer literate and appreciated the importance of computers to future employment, they opted instead for careers in health services, teaching, art or music. The study blamed poor public relations among the information technology industry for not attracting more women. The lack of female role models in science, engineering and math was also considered a deterrent in the survey. However, a separate study (Canes & Rosen, 1995) examining this aspect of gender differences in college majors revealed no evidence that an increase of female faculty would lead to an increase of female students.

Math attitudes/aptitudes and choice of college major

Research has addressed both attitudes toward certain fields of study and attitudes towards those fields in relationship to the selection of a major.

A study of Nebraska students connected attitudes toward math to choice of college major (Eckard, 1995). Fullerton and Umphrey (2001) found a generally negative attitude toward math among advertising majors. There was a perception, particularly among women, of the major being less math intensive and therefore, more apt to draw students with math aversion.

Advertising majors had the lowest SAT scores on both verbal and quantitative measures in comparison to other groupings of majors on a university campus (Umphrey & Fullerton , 2001). As to differences by gender, male advertising majors had higher SAT scores, while their female classmates graduated with significantly higher GPAs.

The earlier referenced Turner (1999) study looked at the effects of Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores and pre-college preparation along with a variety of other factors. Researchers concluded that differences in SAT scores accounted for only a part of the differences in college major choice (and future earnings) among men and women. Other factors, such as individual preferences, labor market expectations and socialization accounted for differences in choice of college major as well.

Additional research (i.e. Shanklin, 1978) also has associated SAT scores with the selection of a major. Higher verbal scores have been linked to humanities majors (Angoff & Johnson, 1988; Grandy, 1984). Angoff and Johnson also found higher quantitative scores among those majoring in the physical sciences, and the lowest SAT quantitative and qualitative scores among majors in the social sciences.

Research Questions

In addition to considerations from the review of literature, research questions were formulated after conducting informal discussions with groups of advertising majors at the universities involved in this study. (See the methodologies section below.)

1. What is the difference in ratio of advertising majors by gender? Are there differences by gender to each of the questions below?
2. Do students major in advertising because: It is perceived as an easy major? It gives them job-related skills? The creative aspects? Its business-orientation? The professors or introductory classes?
3. When do students determine they will be advertising majors?
4. Is advertising the first declared major for the majority of majors? What were the previous majors among those for whom advertising was not a first choice?
5. Who or what are the most important sources of information for students in selecting the advertising major?
6. What career-paths do advertising majors say they will follow?
7. What high school subjects will advertising majors cite as their most and least favorite? What do they perceive as the most helpful courses at the university?

Methodology

Sample

Data were collected during the week of February 5-9, 2001 by distributing self-administered questionnaires in advertising classes at two universities in the Southwest. One of the universities was a medium-sized, private, liberal arts institution and the other a large, state, research institution. Both universities offer bachelor's degrees in advertising.

The private institution houses its advertising department in a college of fine arts, while the public university's advertising program is part of a journalism school in the college of arts and sciences.

According to instructions given in each of the classes, questionnaires were to be completed by advertising majors only. Further, individuals who had completed a questionnaire in a previous class were instructed not to fill out a second questionnaire.

Instrument

The questionnaire was developed using information gathered from interviews with groups of advertising majors at both universities as to why they chose to major in advertising. A preliminary questionnaire was generated from the interviews and given to a sample of thirty advertising majors at each school. After analyzing the preliminary questionnaire results, a final five-page questionnaire was created and used in this study.

The questionnaire included demographics, GPA, when students had selected the advertising major, whether it was their first, second, third, fourth or fifth declared major, their favorite and least favorite high school subjects, sources of information about the advertising major and types of jobs they are interested in pursuing after graduation. The questionnaire also contained eleven attitudinal items about the advertising major and advertising profession, such as "I majored in advertising because of the creative aspects," and "When I graduate from college I expect to work in an advertising-related job" to which students were asked to indicate the extent each most reflects their opinion from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). (See Table 2 for complete list of attitudinal statements.) The questionnaire included some other items not included in this study. The students completed the questionnaire in an average of six minutes and twenty-eight

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seconds with a range between four minutes and twenty seconds and nine minutes and ten seconds.

Completed questionnaires were coded into an Excel spreadsheet and analyzed using SPSS Version 10 for Macintosh. Statistical tools included frequencies, mean scores, t-tests and chi squares.

Results

The response rates included 179 advertising majors out of a possible 227 at the private university, accounting for 78.9% of the advertising majors and 96 out of 131 majors at the public university, a 73.2% response rate. The total sample size equals 275, a combined response rate of 76.8%.

Overall, the sample was predominantly female (65% female and 35% male). Students participating in the study were traditional college age (96% between 18 and 23) and most were upperclassmen (77% juniors or seniors). The vast majority of the students were white (85%). The overall mean score of their self-reported GPA was 3.08 on a 4.00 scale with women reporting 3.16 and men reporting 2.92 ($t=-4.659$, $p<.0001$). All were advertising majors.

A few minor differences were noted between the students at the public and private institutions. Those at the public university were, on average, slightly older and further advanced in their studies. There were no significant differences between the two schools in terms of GPA or in ratio by gender (See Table 1).

Overall opinions about advertising as a major and a profession

Students were asked to give their opinions about advertising as a major and as a profession by indicating their agreement with eleven statements from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). Table 2 provides a listing of the statements, the mean ratings, standard deviations and variances for the entire sample.

The single statement with which students most strongly agreed was "I majored in advertising because I find it interesting" (Mean Score = 4.55). Students also strongly agreed with "When I graduate from college I expect to work in an advertising-related job" (Mean Score = 4.11), "I majored in advertising because of the creative aspects" (Mean Score = 4.03) and "I majored in advertising because it combines both creative and business aspects" (Mean Score = 4.03).

The statements leaning more toward disagreement were "Advertising attracts students because it is an easy major" (Mean Score = 2.59) and "Advertising courses are easier compared to your "average" course on campus" (Mean score = 2.60). Students also tended to disagree with the statement "When I was in high school, I did not know that I could major in advertising at college" (Mean Score = 2.75).

Men and women varied significantly on their responses to three of the statements (See Table 4.) including "When I graduate from college, I expect to work in an advertising-related job," "Advertising attracts students because it is an easy major" and "Advertising courses are easier compared to your 'average' course on campus." Women were more likely to think that they would work in an advertising-related job after they graduate than men (t=-2.522; p<.012), while men were more apt to think that the advertising major attracted students because it was easier (t=3.304; p< .001) and that advertising courses were easier than others on campus (t=2.864; p< .005).

Time in academic career that students chose to major in advertising

The majority of students (43.3%) decided to major in advertising during their sophomore year in college. About twenty percent decided on advertising during their first year and an equal amount in their junior year. Fourteen percent decided to major in advertising while they were still in high school.

Men and women varied significantly in terms of when they decided to major in advertising (X^2=22.98; $p<.05$) with women tending to decide earlier. More than forty percent of the women decided to major in advertising during high school or their first year in college while only 22% of the men decided that early. By contrast, over two-thirds of the men (76.6%) decided to major in advertising during their sophomore or junior years and only 56.3% of the women decided at that point.

Advertising as a first choice of college major

For about half of the students (53.5%) advertising is the first major that they have chosen in college. The other half, however, came to advertising after majoring in at least one other academic area first. For about one-third of the students, advertising is a second major. Ten percent selected advertising after leaving two previous majors and four percent selected advertising as a fourth or fifth major in college. Women were more likely to have chosen advertising as their first and only major as compared to men (X^2=4.37; $p<.05$) and students from the private university were also more likely to have chosen advertising first as compared to their peers at the public university (X^2=19.11; $p<.05$).

Students who decided to major in advertising in high school or during their first year of college were significantly more likely to have advertising as their only major.

There was no significant difference in the grade point of students who had chosen advertising as their first and only major and those who came to advertising after trying other academic majors.

Students for whom advertising was not their first major were asked to indicate other majors that they had declared. Business and other journalism majors were the most likely areas from which students changed. Twenty-eight percent of the students for which advertising was not their first major had chosen first to major in business (excluding marketing). Twenty percent first majored in other areas within journalism, thirteen percent from marketing, and twelve percent from the natural sciences. Business and journalism were also the most common second declared major, while other journalism, psychology and sociology were the most common third declared major. For those few students (2%) who had declared five majors during their college career, they had most recently switched to advertising from English.

Sources of information about the advertising major

Students were asked to indicate all sources of information that were important to them when deciding to major in advertising (See Table 2). Almost half of the students (47.3%) indicated that they were influenced by looking at ads in the media and more than one-third (34.3%) by depictions of the advertising profession on television or in the movies. Other sources of information frequently indicated include parents (28.7%), friends (24.4%), college advisors (22.9%) and college professors (21.8%).

Male and female students varied significantly on only one source of information. Women tended to say they were more influenced more by a job or internship than did men (X^2=4.88; p<.05). Students from the public and private universities varied significantly on two sources of information. Students from the private institution were more likely to indicate parents (X^2=8.74; p<.05) as a source of information about advertising as a college major and students from the public university were more influenced by a high school teacher (X^2=4.05; p<.05).

Advertising jobs of most interest

More than one-third of the students indicated that they were most interested in art direction (20.3%) or graphic design/layout (14.1%) as their preferred job in the advertising profession. Nearly one-fifth of the students were interested in account services (19.4%) and thirteen percent were not sure what job they were most interested.

Men and women did not vary significantly on their job interests.

Favorite and least favorite high school subjects.

Over half (51.2%) of the advertising students reported English as either their most favorite or second most favorite high school subject, followed by science (30%) and history (29%). Only about 12% indicated journalism as one of their favorite high school subjects; slightly more (15%) indicated art. Other courses mentioned included math, drama/speech, psychology and languages.

Men and women varied significantly in regards to their most favorite high school subject (X^2=31.68, p<.05) with the majority of women preferring English (29.3%) and the majority of men preferring history (23.2%). A greater percentage of men reported science as their favorite subject (16.8%) as opposed to women (12.6%); however a larger percentage of women preferred math (13.8%) as opposed to men (8.4%). Men (11.6%) were more likely to select journalism as their favorite high school subject than were women (7.5%).

Math dominated as the least favorite high school subject among advertising majors with 47.6% of the students reporting such, followed by science (25.8%) and history (11.3%). Almost eight percent of the sample said English was their least favorite subject. None reported journalism as a least favorite in high school. There was no significant difference between men and women or between institutions in terms of students' least favorite high school subject.

Most helpful college courses

When asked what single college-level course that they had taken so far has been most helpful to them *aside* from advertising courses, students provided a wide variety of answers, but there was no significant difference between how men and women responded. Almost one fifth of students (16.6%), said other mass communication courses such as public relations, media and society, news writing and reporting were the most helpful. More than thirteen percent indicated some type of English course including creative writing, literature and poetry. Psychology, sociology or marketing were each mentioned as a most helpful college-level course by approximately nine percent of the students.

Summary and Discussion

The findings of this study revealed that in the advertising major, women outnumber men almost 2 to 1, a ratio that is confirmed by enrollment records at both universities and by annual surveys of advertising departments (Becker et al., 2000). Besides female students outnumbering men, there are several other gender differences. Women reported higher mean grade point averages, chose to major in advertising earlier and were more likely to have selected advertising as their first and only major in college.

Women were also were less likely to label advertising as an "easy major" and more apt to say they planned to work in the advertising profession after college graduation. An earlier study of advertising majors found women possessing more positive attitudes toward their statistics courses and toward their statistics professors (Fullerton & Umphrey, 2001).

Taken together, the above findings seem to indicate a considerably different orientation toward the major when comparing male and female advertising students. It appears that some of the men may have gravitated to advertising as a "choice of least resistance" toward a college degree, while women tended to be more purposeful in their selection of the advertising major. However, further information is needed before drawing too many conclusions. How do the differences in attitude between men and women toward the advertising profession link to human capital in the advertising industry? For example, a greater proportion of women say they will work in the advertising industry, but is this actually the case? There seem to be more female advertising majors, but are there more women working in the advertising industry? Do differences in their attitudes in college translate into different levels of performance in the workplace?

How do these gender differences impact future earnings in the industry? Studies indicate that there is a gender wage gap present across all industries (Eide, 1994: Turner, 1999) partly due to the fact that women choose to major in "low skill" fields versus "high skill" fields. Is advertising a low skill or high skill field? Do business majors (cited as a high skill field) who work in the advertising industry earn higher salaries than advertising majors or art majors (cited as a low skill field)? Are these differences tied to gender, job performance, or knowledge acquired in college?

Contrary to Kendrick's (1998) report on why students major in advertising, this study revealed that most students were aware of advertising as a possible major choice in high school. Consistent with Kendrick's findings, however, most students decided to major in advertising after they came to college and did not report high school counselors as an important source of information about the major. Students in this study listed television, movies and ads in the media most often as an important source of information about advertising. Kendrick, however, found parents and friends ranking above the media as a source of information. The differences in the two studies could be a result in how the question was asked. In this study, students were allowed to indicate all sources of information, not just the most important source.

Providing additional information to high school counselors about advertising as a major is an opportunity to bring more students into the major at an earlier date, as would increased presence at high school and college career fairs. Because students are strongly influenced by movies, television and ads in the media, a targeted campaign to promote advertising may be effective in attracting students to the major. The American Advertising Federation is currently running a campaign that promotes the advertising industry by substituting the brand in famous ads for the brand "advertising;" this same approach may be helpful if targeted to potential advertising students.

According to the responses to attitudinal statements in this study, students are drawn to advertising because of the creative aspects of the major. Over one-third of the respondents indicated that they want to work as art directors or graphic designers.

Students in the survey reported English courses including poetry, literature and creative writing as their most helpful college course, other than communication courses, and English as their most favorite high school course. Advertising is one of the few majors on campus that combines creativity with professional business preparation. Given students interest in the creativity, the creative aspect of advertising should be leveraged as a strength of the advertising major when recruiting students, particularly when comparing it to business or marketing degrees which offer similar career paths.

This study also revealed that students' least favorite high school course is math, a finding that supports earlier studies that advertising students are math averse (Fullerton & Umphrey, 2001). As suggested in other studies (Fullerton & Umphrey 2001, Lloyd, Slater & Robb, 2000), professors should incorporate math instruction into the advertising curriculum by teaching math skills through case studies that require budgeting, analyzing market research, and calculating media audience size.

This study, though a limited sample, provides some insight into the motivations of students who major in advertising. Further studies with larger samples could be helpful in improving curriculum and recruiting in advertising departments and therefore resulting in better-trained and higher quality students and professionals.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Students

	Public University	Private University
Mean Age	21.27	20.78*
Year in School	81% junior or senior	75% junior or senior*
Gender	38.5% male/61.5%female	33.7%male/66.3% female
Mean GPA (self report)	3.09	3.06
% International Students	0	7.3%*
% ethnic minority	7.4%	18.2%*

***p<.05**

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Table 2
Statistics for rankings of agreement with statements
Mean, Median, Mode, Standard Deviation, and Variance

	N	Mean	Median	Mode	Standard Deviation	Variance
1. When I graduate from college, I expect to work in an advertising-related job.	275	4.11	4.00	5	.95	.91
2. I majored in advertising because of the creative aspects	275	4.03	4.00	4	1.00	1.00
3. I majored in advertising because of the business aspects	273	3.43	4.00	4	1.08	1.16
4. I majored in advertising because it combines both creative and business aspects	275	4.03	4.00	4	.90	.81
5. Advertising attracts students because it is an easy major.	273	2.59	2.00	2	.93	.87
6. I majored in advertising because I find it interesting.	274	4.55	5.00	5	.59	.35
7. I majored in advertising because I liked the introductory advertising course.	275	3.35	3.00	4	1.14	1.31
8. I majored in advertising because it would give me skills that would lead to a job when I graduate.	275	3.97	4.00	4	.78	.62
9. I majored in advertising because of a professor or professors who teach it.	275	3.13	3.00	3	1.00	.99
10. When I was in high school, I did not know that I could major in advertising at college.	275	2.75	2.00	2	1.33	1.77
11. Advertising courses are easier compared to your "average" course on campus.	275	2.60	2.00	2	.85	.72

Table 3
Statistics for rankings of agreement with statements
T-tests for differences between men and women

	Female		Male			
	N	Mean	N	Mean	t	Sig (2-tailed)
1. When I graduate from college, I expect to work in an advertising-related job.	175	4.23	96	3.94	-2.522	.012*
2. I majored in advertising because of the creative aspects	175	4.03	96	4.02	-.105	.916
3. I majored in advertising because of the business aspects	173	3.38	96	3.54	1.174	.241
4. I majored in advertising because it combines both creative and business aspects	175	4.06	96	4.00	-.498	.619
5. Advertising attracts students because it is an easy major.	175	2.46	94	2.85	3.304	.001*
6. I majored in advertising because I find it interesting.	174	4.59	96	4.47	-1.637	.103
7. I majored in advertising because I liked the introductory advertising course.	175	3.38	96	3.26	-.802	.423
8. I majored in advertising because it would give me skills that would lead to a job when I graduate.	175	3.97	96	3.96	-.131	.896
9. I majored in advertising because of a professor or professors who teach it.	175	3.17	96	3.08	-.695	.488
10. When I was in high school, I did not know that I could major in advertising at college.	175	2.71	96	2.82	.671	.503
11. Advertising courses are easier compared to your "average" course on campus.	175	2.50	96	2.80	2.864	.005*

* Significant difference between men and women (p< .05)

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Table 4

Sources of information about advertising as a college major

Sources of information	Percent of students influenced
Looking at ads in the media	47.3
Depictions of advertising as a career in TV or movies	34.5
Parents	28.7**
Friends/roommates	24.4
College advisor	22.9
College professor	21.8
Other	21.1
Advertising Professional with whom you are acquainted	18.9
Internship/Job	12.0*
Relatives other than parents	10.2
High school teacher	8.0**
High school counselor	3.6
High school career fair	3.6
Career fair	3.3

Total does not equal 100 percent because items may be checked more than once.

* Significant difference between men and women ($p < .05$)

** Significant difference between types of institution ($p < .05$)

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The Development Of Distance Learning Courses
A Training Camp

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The Development Of Distance Learning Courses
A Training Camp

Abstract

More colleges and universities across the country are implementing online distance learning courses as alternatives to traditional classroom instruction. Students who consider participating in online courses are as diverse as the courses themselves. Online courses must encourage student interaction and recognize and adapt to, individual student learning styles. This paper will examine how to develop an online course, retain student interest, develop course content as well as how to encourage interaction through these many venues.

Introduction

Taking a few classes, or even receiving a degree via distance leaning is fast becoming a part of mainstream education. "Statistics show that between 1999 and 2001 the number of students enrolling in an online course have increased from 60,000 to 150,000" (Daniel 2001). "More than 1,100 colleges and universities in the United States, as well as hundreds of institutions in other countries, are now offering courses on the Internet. Their enrollments are soaring. And a growing body of research is demonstrating that learning online can be both effective and satisfying for students" (Newman and Scurry 2001).

Thomas L. Russell, who tracks studies of distance-education methods, asks "Is distance education better or worse than traditional classroom instruction? Neither, most studies [I've] seen show no difference in the effectiveness of the two media. All delivery mechanisms—be they simple print or sophisticated computer-based or interactive video-based—had a like result," he says (Young 2000).

Although the jury is still out on learning outcomes, distance learning as an alternative to the traditional classroom is becoming a big part of the post-secondary landscape.

Creating high-quality online courses that encourage student interaction and recognize individual student learning styles will raise the standards for both teaching competencies and a educational excellence. The goal is to create an online course that mimics the experience found in a traditional classroom. The way in which you tackle the development of an online course depends on your teaching style. However, to create interest and involvement and to avoid creating an environment that fosters student isolation and disillusionment, you must cater to many different learning styles.

"Although distance learning has surfaced as a major educational alternative, the question of how (if at all) it should differ from the traditional face-to-face instruction needs to be considered. In reviewing the literature on distance education, Schlosser and Anderson conclude that at least in the United States, the goal is to offer the distance student and educational experience as much like the traditional face-to-face classroom as possible. It was further concluded that distance learning pedagogy should not differ from traditional classroom methods" (Ponzurick, Russo, and Logar 2000).

However, instructors who are considering entering the online arena must also understand that they need to create an interactive learning environment. This environment must encourage two-way discussion either between the student and the instructor or between students within the course. Visual elements such as streaming video break up the wordiness of an online course. Providing links to other sites that offer differing opinions from that of the text or the instructor, encourage the formation of opinions, spark ideas and advocate additional research. (This paper just focuses on on-line teaching options and does not attempt to evaluate the usefulness of techniques such satellite and interactive television delivery.)

Be careful not to become captivated and thus held hostage with the technology available. Remember, the technology should be judged on how well it promotes and enhances the learning experience. The goal for distance learning to provide students an education, not to showcase technology (Ponzurick, Russo, and Logar 2000).

Getting Ready

Getting ready to offer an online course takes much more preparation than a conventional class, and it will likely take more time than you are expecting.

Grants

Colleges and universities around the country are fumbling with how to compensate those instructors who not only develop online courses but who teach them as well. Curriculum development in any form is a time-consuming process, and depending on the approach you are taking with your online course, at best, you can double your time investment compared to traditional course development. "Online course development can take anywhere from three to six months to develop…It takes more time to work with an Internet course than it does with a regular on-campus course. The amount of faculty time needed to administer a course with a significant Internet delivery component may well be two to three times more than a comparable face-to-face course in the first few semesters of the offering"(Burrow and J. Conrad Glass 2001). Not only is everything submitted in writing, and thus must be read, but there is the need for constant interaction between faculty and student and/or student to student interaction, that must be monitored via E-mail, discussion boards or chat rooms.

So, whether you're taking on a whole new curriculum or developing online versions of existing or traditional courses, consider applying for a grant. Grants can come in many forms and from many sources. First consider looking into your institutions office of extended or distance learning. The Department of Education offers some grants as well as many public and private corporations.

Class Organization

You will be dealing with various levels of learners. Break the class down into sections in order to reach all levels and kinds of learners. The level at which a student enters an online class can be affected by numerous, and often times, uncontrollable factors:

1. The student resides in a country other than the United States and English is considered a second language.
2. The class is open to all university students so the grade level of students could include freshman as well as seniors or even graduate students.
3. Often students who take online courses are considered non-traditional. They could be professionals looking to update skills, or a parent looking to complete a degree.

Student Profile

Students who consider participating in online courses are as diverse as the courses themselves. One thing is for sure, they take online courses because they are convenient and flexible. The majority of students participating in online courses would be considered non-traditional, (especially at the advanced degree levels) or those who have advanced life or career experience. Undergraduate students initially thought online courses would be easier, but found instead that the flexibility of the courses fit their life style and diverse study habits.

J.L. Burrow and J. Conrad Glass (Burrow and J. Conrad Glass 2001) from North Carolina State University sum up the student profile in this way:

1. There is little difference based on age, gender, ethnicity, or geographic location in student participation between Internet courses or on-campus courses.
2. Over time there is little difference in average course ratings of student satisfaction between Internet courses and comparable face-to-face classes. Some initial Internet offerings (as with many new classes) receive lower ratings.
3. Students want to participate in Internet-delivered courses due to their convenience. Our experience is that students will register as early as possible and that Internet courses will attract more students than normally enroll in comparable on-campus courses.
4. There is a slightly higher initial dropout rate in Internet courses than comparable face-to-face courses.
5. Feedback from students indicates primary reasons for dropping the course are:
    a. difficulty with access and use of technology
    b. an expectation prior to enrollment that the Internet course would be "easier" than traditional courses
    c. enrollment in the course because it was offered over the Internet without considering whether the content would be interesting or useful, and
    d. the Internet course did not fit with the learning style preferences of the student
6. There is little difference in final grades assigned between Internet courses and comparable face-to-face courses. When all distance education course alternatives are considered, there appears to be slightly higher grade average in distance education courses than in comparable on-campus courses.
7. Access to student services are an important part of effective Internet course delivery. Students need (and expect) to have easy access to registration, advising, and library services to enhance their learning experience.

Left and Right Brain Learners

Each and every student processes information in diverse ways. Be repetitive, you can never say it, or show it, often enough. Repetitiveness sparks interest, how, depends on each individual within the class. By understanding how the student thinks, acts and feels you can more accurately target your courses message to meet their needs. Their needs, are controlled by the brain. The brain is composed of two sides, the left side and the right side.

The passive or more right-brained person needs to repeatedly see a message in multiple forums before responding. The active or left-brain individual will respond by organizing, sorting and researching a topic more thoroughly. The left side of the brain controls reading and verbal skills, as well as logical and rational thought processes and makes ones outlook more conservative in nature. This is the side that tells you not to step out in front of a moving vehicle or to jump from an airplane with or without a parachute. The left side of the brain is also responsible for your math skills and your ability to memorize facts and remember names and vocabulary. The right side of the brain as you can well imagine is just the opposite. The right side is the liberal, emotional, more visual side. Its strengths include a highly developed imagination, strong music skills. Right brainers generally exude playful personalities. It asks "what could really happen if I step out in front of that moving car, It could miss me? If I jump back on the curb, at the last minute..." or "what would it feel like to free fall like a bird?" Knowing about how the brain works is important to the development of the online course, because both kind of users will be a part of your student base. Some will be more visual, while others will be more fact based. Teachers need to be able to communicate to both.

For the left-brained students, the text will play a vital role, with the copy being more important than the visual and discussion components. They will want details not generalities about the assignment or outcomes associated with the course. Defining course objectives will play an important role here.

The right-brained consumer on the other hand will be drawn to the visual such as streaming videos or pages with bright colors. They are interested in facts as well, it just will be easier to find it in the lecture and to talk about it in the discussion. Less work.

The varied levels of learners in an online course is no different than those found in a traditional course. However, the international reach and the mix of non-traditional students with undergraduate to graduate students, makes creating a diverse learning environment critical. Each of these students will learn differently, so it is important to consider each when developing your course.

Frank Newman, a visiting professor at Brown University, says "Evidence shows that students who are actively involved in a 'self-driven' learning project, learn more and remember it longer than when they are passively sitting and listening" (Newman and Scurry 2001).

Being able to not only personally reach, but also educate, each one of these diverse learners requires organization and structure. Crafting an online class requires a time consuming outline that includes the professors' thoughts and guidance as well as the anticipated interpretation of those thoughts and how that guidance will be used by students enrolled in the class.

The difference between a good class and a bad class is whether or not students have enough outlets that match their learning style, from which to gather information. A well-prepared class allows them to process that information without needing constant assistance from the professor.

Don't concentrate on the bells and whistles of technology. "Too often, instructional program designers and those who are delivering the course instruction become enamored with the technologies without considering the underlying issues, especially student needs and learning"(Lewis et al. 1999). The simple fact is that neither research nor practical experience shows that that more advanced technology will lead to better distance learning results. Rather than looking for the most advanced or flashiest technology, on-line curriculum developers should instead look for technologies that meet instructional and learner needs in a cost-effective manner.

Students must be able to rely on each and every part of a course to deliver information. They must be able to answer questions, participate in discussions and complete assignments, no matter their learning style, no matter how information is delivered, whether through readings, additional journal links, lectures or discussions.

Diverse Learning Delivery Methods

Just as class room teaching involves a range of teaching methods, so do on-line courses.

Texts

The choice of text(s) in an online course plays the same role it does in a traditionally delivered class. It should support lecture and act as a resource in the completion of assignments and discussions, as well as offer an alternative to or comparative view of, accompanying journal articles/web links.

[Surprisingly] "students aren't nearly as interested in using online technology to study course material. They make it clear that they want to read books as books, not as downloaded computer files... I am convinced that students prefer courses to blend online information with other materials," says Sir John Daniel, assistant director-general for education at UNESCO (Daniel 2001).

Lecture

The use of online lectures is one of the most controversial sections of any online course. This paper supports the use of lecture as an additional resource.

Lecture in a traditional classroom allows the instructor to measure comprehension and monitor student reaction, or lack thereof, through the use of body language. Obviously in an online course this is not available, so diversity in information gathering must be present. Offering a lecture as an option for any one who needs it keeps the student involved and the class student-centered (Young 2002).

The development of a lecture series allows the professor to speak directly to the class using their own words. Information can be broken down, simplified and highlighted just as if the student sat before you. The addition of a lecture component allows any student who needs reading support or topic clarification to choose to attend or peek in on the lecture. Lecture also provides students with a convenient way to review material (Newman and Scurry 2001).

This is your class, use the lecture section to set the tone and define what and why specific points are important. Use these points in the discussion section to encourage further thought and research.

Arguments against having a lecture component are two fold. Giving students a lecture may discourage them from conducting their own research. Students continue to regurgitate the professor's point-of-view rather than forming one of their own. Secondly, online lectures are very time consuming to prepare. Including lectures in your course can double or even triple the amount of time it takes to prepare an online course.

When making your decision, remember, you could have students from around the world taking your course, and at any age, with varied professional backgrounds. Including a lecture allows the instructor to engage the student by asking questions, highlighting points that induce further research, or further future discussions. "The literature shows that pedagogical differences should not exist between traditional classroom methods and those delivered via distance education" (Ponzurick, Russo, and Logar 2000).

Those who are against including lecture in the course (especially graduate courses) believe the student should think more and rely less on pre-processed materials. If looking for a well-rounded course the professor should set out the parameters and allow the student to develop their own opinions based in part to research they have gathered.

Consider a section at the end of each weeks' lecture that sums up that days discussion, just as you might following a traditionally delivered lecture. We use a graphic box entitled 'What's the Point.' It's become a trade mark of sorts and helps out those right brain learners.

Discussions

Discussion questions should be developed from ideas and concepts introduced in the text and developed further in the lecture and varied readings. Discussion should encourage students to debate, discuss and dissect diverse opinions, theories and concepts, that lend themselves to application in practical or professional situations. This is one area where we believe that online classes may be better than traditional classes. "In a traditional course, even when discussion is encouraged and expected many students fear their confusion, will delay the whole class. As a result, often they don't ask questions—and, as the class progresses, they fall farther and farther behind" (Newman and Scurry 2001).

The diversity of learning options available in an online course such as the use of lectures and discussion boards can be used by students as research tools for straightening out the facts and filling in information gaps. This builds confidence and helps to maintain interest. "Many people find their voice in distance media in a way that they don't in face-to-face sessions" says Chris Dede, professor of learning technologies at Harvard University's Graduate School of Education. "A shy student, for instance, might never participate in a classroom environment, but the student might frequently speak up in online forums where students have more time to think before they comment" (Young 2002).

Discussion questions should aid in moving the course forward and encouraging students to formulate opinions, test hypothesis, and advance each assignment. Students should be encouraged to participate regularly in discussions. Each posting should be backed up with research and/or suggestions for additional readings. Discussions can also be used as a forum in which students can discuss decisions made for that week's assignment(s).

We think it is important to note that there are several ways to conduct discussion boards. Which you choose will depend on the course content, course outcomes and course level. MacDonald and Caverly (MacDonald and Caverly 2001) recommend three types:

1. Students participate by asking questions of the instructor or turning in homework, but no interaction is provided between students. This type of interaction usually takes place via E-mail or chat room.
2. Interaction is encouraged between students, but discussion is controlled and led by the teacher. Here students answer instructor questions and discuss answers online, but new questions from students are not addressed. In other words, the discussion is focused only wherever the teacher leads it.
3. Interactions between students online are led by student questions, interests, and answers but managed by the instructor, that is, student-centered and student-led online discussions.

The discussion board is everyone's opportunity to shine, including the instructor. This is where you can personalize the course, and let your hair down a bit. At the start of each semester consider having an opening or welcoming message posted on the discussion board introducing yourself to the class. Ask students to do the same.

When interacting with students it is considered "cyberetiquette" to always respond to their inquiries within 24 hours, creating an environment of professionalism, and to always address them by name thus, personalizing discussions. The key issue is to keep two-way communication flowing between the teacher and students. "Without connectivity and interactivity, distance learning degenerates into the old correspondence course model of independent study with the student becoming autonomous and isolated" (Ponzurick, Russo, and Logar 2000).

One downfall to discussion boards is what's referred to as "flaming." Oftentimes discussions can become heated and controversial. Although spirited discussions should be encouraged, it is up to the instructor to determine discussion etiquette by preparing a class civility statement by which everyone must adhere. Consider placing this statement in the syllabus.

Assignments

It is important in distance learning courses to keep the students involved. It is equally important to stay in touch with them. Frequent assignments and/or discussions are two ways to do that. Be sure to have students participating in the class week one.

Presentations can take place through the discussion board or continue to be developed through critique sessions. Assignments can be a single project completely divorced from the next or a single part of a larger project that continues to be developed throughout the semester. Team projects are interactive and work very well in online courses because they create interaction with other classmates through discussion and promote research.

One thing that becomes apparent very quickly in an online course is that students must be able to write well, and students' need to do so should be addressed in the syllabus(Carnevale 2000). Students should be reminded to proof their work before hitting the send button and to reread for content. Consider taking points off for each grammar and spelling infraction. Quality tends to improve quickly. Remind students these standards need to be adhered to during discussion postings as well. It's hard for classmates to take them seriously when posting incomplete sentences with multiple spelling errors.

How students turn in assignments will be tied to the delivery system you are using. Most assignments will be completed using a word procession program and either dropped in an assignment box (if you are using a course delivery system such as Web CT) or attached to an E-mail.

An online course should be no different from a traditional course where deadlines are concerned. Set a deadline for posting to the discussion board as well as a deadline for projects. Remind students that not only are dates and times attached to each posting, but to each E-mail or drop box delivery as well.

We also suggest offering alternative ways for assignments to be submitted. Since technology does go down on both sides of the academic fence, don't allow it to become an excuse. Offer options such as faxing you the material if students are located off campus, and if on, to just drop it off at your office. Alternatives keep frustration with technology to a minimum on both sides. Computers break, sites go down, have a disaster response plan in place to deal with it. Though it is much easier to be flexible with a small class than with a larger one.

Developing the Course

A key factor in having a successful online course is having it fully developed before starting the semester. You simply cannot "wing it" online!

Site Design

First and foremost, your course site must be easy for students to navigate through with lots of white space for ease of reading. A student (and age is no measure) should not be stressed out over how to use the course. Keep it simple, and clean. Clever belongs in advertising, not in course design.

If you are designing a series of courses, try to keep as much consistency between them as is practical. (Though different needs of the various courses may require somewhat different structures.) Choose a graphic to tie the courses together just as if you were creating an advertising campaign. When they see the course they should think of the instructor or program, and know how the class will look, be set up and flow. Lots of white space makes readability and legibility a certainty. Since online courses include an enormous amount of copy, consider breaking the monotony with graphics or photographs. Just don't get carried away.

Also make sure that your course will work on the lowest common denominator computer setup. Don't assume every student has a large monitor and a cable modem or Ethernet line. If your class does have high technical requirements, make sure your syllabus clearly explain them.

Navigation Buttons

There should be a button for each section of your site, i.e. syllabus, weekly assignments, weekly lectures, discussion, grades and perhaps a help button.

Sections such as assignments and lectures should be laid out by weeks. If the student wants to see what the lecture was on Week 10 he/she shouldn't have to scroll to find it. Set your assignment pages up by week. If the student will be away from his/her computer they can printout the single assignment and take it with them or have it available while working. Students can click on the relevant week for lectures, and assignments as well as navigate forward and back with ease and no confusion.

A help button keeps down the panic when some piece of technology isn't working properly. Common mistakes happen all the time. List them and offer suggestions for how to fix or adjust. This is particularly valuable if you are teaching a large class online. It keeps dozens of repetitive E-mails from arriving. A help button offers one-stop fixes for most problems.

Create a button for the discussion page as well as your syllabus. Suggest students print out the syllabus and assignment pages, for use if needed when away from their computers.

Access to grade postings should be no more than a button away. If you are posting grades online, be sure your system offers password protection.

Weekly Objectives

Each week's lecture should come complete with objectives. This outlines for the student what will be presented that week. It helps the instructor develop both assignment and discussion questions. It is also a valuable assessment tool, allowing the instructor to measure learning comprehension, specifically through the discussion board, i.e. how students will use the stated objectives in their assignments.

Weekly course objectives should outline the learning outcomes for that week. Lectures should be complete with relevant links or even streaming video options. The important word here is relevant. Information gathered over the last 18 months shows students' major complaint concerning online courses is that course links are not relevant to the assignment or are redundant, just a rewording of the lecture or presenting a single view repetitiously. Chose your links wisely. Offer multiple opinions, or additional research sites.

Streaming video should advance the assignment or encourage debate. It doesn't take students long to figure out that the majority of the links are already discussed in the text or outlined in the lecture and/or are never considered relevant in discussion sessions and can be skipped. Links should be chosen so that your diverse student learner can find explanations to difficult concepts or another point-of-view from which to view the assignment or concept discussed. To assure students visit these links make them relevant, make them essential to the assignment, the discussions and the diverse learning environment you are creating.

Grading/Feedback

We don't think there will ever be agreement on whether to grade online or to print out each assignment and grade a hard copy. It's your choice. "Although submitting and returning assignments electronically is quicker than the postal system, most faculty members still prefer to comment on and grade student work through the traditional method of writing in the margins" (Daniel 2001). Microsoft Word's comment feature is a great tool to use to insert teacher comments if you choose to grade online, allowing you to make electronic "marks" directly on the student's paper.

Grading and feedback in online courses can be extremely time consuming. Students participating in an online class require a great deal of in-depth feedback, making up for that lack of face-to-face contact. They need assurance and/or additional guidance, depending on the situation. A few simple comments will have your E-mail in flames.

Student Interaction

One common criticism of online courses, especially by those who have not participated in an online course, is that there isn't sufficient student interaction. We, too, thought we would miss that interaction no matter how uninspired it sometimes seemed. However, we probably know our students better via online interaction than we do in a traditional setting.

We never seem to get the feedback we would like when in the traditional classroom. Students sleep, read the newspaper, drink their coffee or answer the phone. Online, students routinely participate in discussion with classmates. On any given week, postings can top the 500-600 mark.

Discussions must be based on research and/or any additional readings. One word agreements are not considered relevant. Students must bring some new piece of information to each posting. They should attempt to assist classmates with questions, directions, or even an interpretation of research materials.

Assignments in online classes are never dropped on your desk with apathy, a yawn, or a dash out the door. In an online course, students often include a brief E-mail message on personal events that may have affected the project or anecdotes associated in some way with the assignment. Oftentimes they are so poignant or generally informational, a personality emerges via cyberspace, a connection is made. But nothing can replace a face to go with the personality. Students, experiencing the same feelings, during evaluation have often suggested that each student as well as the instructor, post a photograph so that, that visual connection can be made.

Class Size

Due to the enormous amount of reading, grading and interaction that takes place in an online course, class size is a major concern if you want to keep the course interpersonal and intimate. A class of 15-20 is manageable if the class is offered totally online. If your class is large, you may want to consider the 'hybrid model' where part of the course will be delivered via online methods and half by traditional (Young 2002) . We have found that an online homework component has worked well in a traditional lecture course with as many as 350 freshmen in it.

Technology Needs

What kind of computers should students have in order to participate in an online course? At a minimum students will need at least a 56K modem with multi-media capabilities. Students will likely also need a word processing program such as Word. Depending on the course, additional software needs might include Excel, or graphic programs such as Photoshop, Illustrator or Quark. Instructors should seek assistance from their department's web master, computer technology divisions or distant learning departments. Course design is relatively simple, getting the course online will take assistance if you are not familiar with HTML.

Conclusion

Commit to the time it takes to create, manage and participate in an online course, before committing to teaching one. Make sure the information you are presenting can be retrieved in different ways in order to reach all kinds of learners at all levels. Offer students learning options such as texts, lectures, and links to additional readings and discussions. Make the course interactive or it will not work. Interactivity makes the class fun and creates a positive learning environment. The online course need not be a second-class experience for students. If properly prepared and delivered, it can be a unique experience that gives students their most challenging and enriching college experience.(Young 2002), (Burrow and J. Conrad Glass 2001)

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Running head: Advertising Skepticism

ADVERTISING SKEPTICISM IN YOUNG TEENS

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ADVERTISING SKEPTICISM IN YOUNG TEENS

Abstract

High school-aged research participants were assigned to one of four experimental conditions. One group saw a mass produced instructional video on advertising, another was taught a short lesson on persuasion, another received both, and a control group was exposed to neither. The study found that as students become more knowledgeable about advertising, they become more skeptical viewers of television. Analyses also revealed that extended media exposure does not necessarily increase skepticism.

ADVERTISING SKEPTICISM IN YOUNG TEENS

Introduction

The fact that television advertising abounds in the lives of children today is obvious. It is estimated that children view 50 to 80 commercials a day, equaling 20,000 to 30,000 per year (Maldonado 1992). Scholars have shown that younger children are generally more naive than adults, and special measures should be taken to ensure they are being provided with the tools to critically defend themselves against advertising (Roberts, Christenson, Gibson, Mooser, & Goldberg, 1995). We think of American teenagers as being extremely media savvy, and in fact Mangleburg and Bristol (1999) found that sixteen year olds were quite skeptical of advertising. The difficulty lies in determining at what age naivety ends, or whether environmental factors may encourage skepticism at a younger age. Younger teens (thirteen to sixteen) are the focus of this research study. The purpose of this study is to examine whether knowledge about advertising and television viewing behavior can influence and predict skepticism of advertisers.

Literature Review

We know that knowledge about, and skepticism of, persuasive messages is directly related to cognitive abilities. A person must possess the ability to think at some level of abstraction, to understand the perspective of another person, in order to understand the concept of a motive, particularly a persuasive or ulterior motive (Brucks, Armstrong, & Goldberg 1988). According to basic Pigetian Stage Theory, children progress through a series of cognitive development stages before reaching a level indicative of adult processing abilities: sensorimotor (birth to two years), preoperational (two to seven years), concrete operational (seven to eleven years), and formal operational (eleven years and older) (Piaget 1951). Persons reaching the formal operational stage (eleven years and older) have reached the "adult" stage of information processing that allows them to think concretely, abstractly, and hypothetically, and allows for deductive reasoning (Piaget 1951; Singer and Revenson 1996). John (1999) refers to young teens, the focus of this study, as residing in a Reflective Stage (ages eleven to sixteen years) of consumer socialization. At this stage, more sophisticated information processing is possible and there is a heightened concern about others' perceptions and opinions.

The concern among some researchers, and many parents, is whether children understand the persuasive intent of commercials (John 1999). Most research suggests understanding of persuasive intent emerges when a child is around seven or eight years old (Macklin 1987; Robertson and Rossiter 1974). If elementary-aged children can identify the persuasive role of commercials, young teens would be expected to possess even greater discriminative and evaluative abilities. As children grow older, their skepticism of the media increases, as does their understanding of messages being related by advertisers (Singer, Zuckerman, & Singer 1980).

The assumption, however, that older kids innately understand how the media works and how to counterargue its influences may be false. Students may require some exposure to the techniques of persuasion to build their knowledge base and increase their skepticism. Singer, Zuckerman, and Singer (1980) reported that third-, fourth-, and fifth-grade children provided with eight lessons on a variety of television facets significantly gained knowledge about how television works and became more critical of commercial appeals. Roberts et al. (1980) found that by showing an instructional film about persuasive techniques used in advertising, middle school students' skepticism towards commercials was heightened, especially among those who were most naive about television operations.

A child's socialization, particularly viewing behaviors, can also affect his or her ability to understand advertisers' purposes and be wary of what is seen in commercials. Co-viewing television with parents may be of particular importance in shaping a child's attitudes toward advertising (Carlson, Grossbart, & Walsh 1990). Parents influence their children's perceptions of the importance of objects (such as the television), provide both direct and indirect instruction on behavior, and may also supervise behavior (Carlson and Grossbart 1988; Carlson, Grossbart, & Walsh 1990; McNeal 1987; Moschis 1987; Reece 1982; Ward, Wackman, & Wartella 1977; Singer, Zuckerman, & Singer 1980). Additionally, parents may influence a child's viewing habits with respect to amount of time spent viewing the television (Maccoby 1992). Parents who tend to be heavy television viewers may have children who also tend to be heavy viewers.

Whether increased television viewing leads to more, or less, skepticism in children has been debated and mixed results obtained, based on the age of the child. Roberts et al. (1980) found that second-, third-, and fifth-graders who watch television most heavily are more likely to trust what they see in commercials and be less sophisticated in their understanding of the business aspects of the medium. However, Mangleburg and Bristol (1999) found that among sixteen year olds, increased television viewing related positively to skepticism toward advertising. While this relationship has not been determined definitively (and appears to be strongly tied to age) it remains paramount that society understand the importance of teaching young viewers methods by which they can effectively evaluate advertising in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of their consumer decision making.

Research Hypothesis and Questions

Research suggests that knowledge about and skepticism of the media are closely related; therefore the following initial hypothesis of replication is offered:

H1: A positive correlation exists between knowledge about, and skepticism of, advertising among young teens.

Because the ability to critically evaluate claims has been linked to viewing habits and parental involvement in consumer socialization, the following hypotheses were offered:

> *H2: Young teens who engage in more individual viewing of television will be less skeptical of advertising.*
>
> *H3: Young teens who spend more time co-viewing television with parents will be more skeptical of advertising.*

Additionally, increased exposure to television, in an individual or co-viewing situation, is expected to contribute to higher levels of knowledge about advertising:

> *H4: Young teens who engage in more viewing of television, both alone and co-viewing with parents, will be more knowledgeable about advertising.*

Finally, an exploratory examination was conducted to determine if differences exist between students who were academically classified as either advanced or regular students, due to an assumed higher level of information processing abilities with the advanced students.

> *RQ: Are students academically classified as advanced more skeptical of advertising than those classified as regular students?*

Method

Research participants were 129 students (13 to 16 years old) enrolled in either regular or advanced English classes in a public school in the Southeast (62 females/67 males).

The study utilized a four-group post-test only research design. The classes were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental condition groups. Group 1 was shown a mass-marketed instructional video on television advertising. Group 2 was taught a short unit on general persuasion. Group 3 both viewed the video and received the instruction, and Group 4 (control) was not given any form of advertising or persuasion instruction. All members of the sample then answered a short questionnaire (see Appendix). The time lapse between exposure to instruction and measurement was 14 to 21 days for participants in experimental Group 2 and 3. Less than five days passed between exposure to the video and measurement for participants in experimental Groups 1 and 3 (Group 3 received both instruction and video).

The questionnaire included five multiple-choice questions that, for data analyses purposes, were combined into one score representing general knowledge of advertising. Next, participants were asked to convey their attitudes concerning commercials and advertising (Roberts et al., 1980). A skepticism score was calculated using responses to these questions. Participants were asked to estimate the number of minutes of commercials shown during a typical hour of television and were asked to report on their aggravation with commercial interruptions. Finally, participants were asked about their amount of daily television viewing and amount of daily television co-viewing with a parent or guardian.

Results

Participants' mean skepticism score was 35.46 (s.d. = 4.12) out of a possible 50 points with a higher score indicating a higher degree of skepticism. The following six fields acted as independent variables: knowledge about advertising, mean = 2.35 out of 5.00 (s.d. = 1.25); students' estimate of advertising minutes seen in an hour long television program, mean = 16.56 (s.d. = 10.22); hours of daily television viewing by student, mean = 5.28 (s.d. = 3.68); hours of daily television viewing by student with parent/caretaker, mean = 2.16 (s.d. = 2.57); and level of aggravation with commercial interruptions, mean = 1.46 out of 5.00 (s.d. = .78).

In confirming the predictors of skepticism, the researchers first used a full regression model with all independent variables entered. The correlation coefficient between the dependent variable and the independent variables were as follows: knowledge of advertising = .336, perceived minutes of advertising = .147, hours viewing television = -.188, hours viewing with parent = -.233, aggravation with interruptions = -.186, and gender = .013. The correlations were significant in four of the six variables at $\alpha = .05$. A significant positive correlation was discovered between advertising skepticism and knowledge, indicating that as knowledge increases so does media skepticism, confirming Hypothesis 1. Significant negative correlations were found between the dependent variable and hours of television viewed both alone and with a parent, and level of aggravation experienced by commercial interruptions. A significant beta coefficient (.262) was found with knowledge of advertising, indicating that the researchers are 95 percent sure that skepticism of advertising can be predicted from knowledge of advertising.

In attempting to account for the greatest amount of variance, several regression models were also run. Because knowledge surfaced as the sole significant predictor of skepticism, a forward model was examined in which knowledge was uncovered as the best single predictor. The adjusted R^2 value of .105 revealed in this model was significant in an ANOVA ($F(1,114)$ 14.49, $p<.05$). The significant R^2 suggests that the researchers are able to account for 10.5 percent of the variance on skepticism by examining knowledge.

Skepticism was also correlated with hours spent watching television and hours watching television with a parent/caretaker. The correlation coefficient for skepticism by hours spent viewing television was -.188 and viewing with a parent/caretaker was -.233. Both of these negative correlations were significant ($p<.05$), indicating that as hours spent watching television (with or without a parent/caretaker) increased, skepticism of advertising decreased, counter to the findings of Mangleburg and Bristol (1999). However, the beta was only significant for viewing television with a parent/caretaker (beta = -.205). This significant figure suggests that as hours of television watched with a parent increases, skepticism decreases. The adjusted R^2 value revealed by the regression test was submitted to an ANOVA, (F(1,118) 4.15, $p<.05$). Although a significant correlation in the expected direction was obtained for Hypothesis 2, the beta coefficient was not significant. Additionally, the Hypothesis 3 findings were in the direction opposite of that expected; therefore, both hypotheses were rejected.

Because the possibility of a relationship between advertising knowledge and an adolescent's time spent viewing is posed in Hypothesis 4, the knowledge score was correlated with hours viewing television individually and hours viewing with parents. The correlation coefficient for advertising knowledge by individual daily hours of television viewed was -.187 and by hours viewed with parents was -.215; both figures were significant at $\alpha = .05$. These negative correlations indicate that as the hours of television viewed with or without a parent increase, the amount of advertising knowledge decreases. Neither of the betas were significant; however, the adjusted R^2 value of .059 was significant in an ANOVA, (F(1,117) 3.68, $p<.05$). Therefore, Hypothesis 4 was rejected.

Additionally, the researchers ran the regression model to determine if there was a predictive relationship between advertising skepticism and the students' academic placement (advanced or regular). No significant correlation was found.

Finally, ANOVA investigations revealed no differences between experimental conditions. No group-wide differences emerged, indicating that exposure to lessons on persuasive messages or instructional videos critical of advertising, in themselves, do not result in wholesale effects.

Discussion

This study sought to discover if possessing a greater knowledge of advertising would increase skepticism in young teens. The study found that as students become more knowledgeable about advertising, they become more skeptical viewers of television. With a trend in education to heighten students' abilities to read, think, and view more critically, this research reveals that opportunities exist to influence students' media skepticism.

While the study revealed a relationship between knowledge and skepticism, it also suggested that extended media exposure does not necessarily increase skepticism. In fact, the more daily hours that a student watched television, the less skeptical they were. Kids may not be learning critical viewing at home so schools have an opportunity to teach these evaluation skills.

Finally, no difference in skepticism related to academic abilities was found. Although this was an exploratory examination, it may indicate that with young teens, higher-level academic abilities do not signify greater ability to critically evaluate persuasive messages.

While the study produced some significant findings, limitations did exist. Participants represented only one school; surveying students from a variety of schools could add to the strength of the study. Additionally, ANOVA investigations did not clearly indicate what type of critical viewing training is most beneficial. The researchers found that in itself, exposure to information on persuasion evaluation is not enough to make students significantly more critical of television advertising than peers not exposed to such instruction. While the researchers found a positive correlation between knowledge and skepticism, the techniques needed to increase advertising knowledge are still undetermined. Selecting the most appropriate method of aiding in the acquisition of media knowledge must be determined before making curricular changes.

Research into how knowledge of advertising influences reactions to televised persuasive messages offers educators an impetus for the development of media evaluation curricula. Britain and Australia have implemented programs to enhance critical viewing skills, thereby increasing media skepticism, of its young citizens. The United States should do the same so that its children might understand the persuasive elements of the medium on which they so heavily depend.

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Appendix

1. It doesn't cost you anything to receive television broadcasts over antenna; so how does the television station pay its bills? Who really pays for the costs of running the station?
   a. the government
   b. the viewers
   c. the advertisers
   d. the movie producers
   e. the actors

2. The people in the movie The Lost World: Jurassic Park drove Mercedes M-Class sport utility vehicles. They could have driven Jeeps, Explorers, or Toyotas. Why did the movie show the characters driving Mercedes vehicles?
   a. Mercedes makes the best off-road vehicles
   b. Mercedes is an international product, and the movie makers wanted to attract a diverse audience
   c. Mercedes paid the movie makers to use the M-Class vehicle
   d. The movie makers just liked Mercedes best
   e. Mercedes is the vehicle the characters wanted to drive

3. Which of the following products would most likely be advertised during Monday Night Football?
   a. Huggie's diapers
   b. Cheerio's cereal
   c. Folger's coffee
   d. Ford trucks
   e. all of the above

4. Certain companies measure the number of viewers that watch specific programs. For example, 42 percent of the nation watched the Barbara Walters/Monica Lewinsky interview. Why do networks care about the number of viewers that watch a particular program?
   a. so the network can make advertisers pay more for running commercials during popular programs
   b. so networks can decide how much to pay actors
   c. so networks can charge more to the viewers
   d. so advertisers can find out if programs that feature their products are popular
   e. so actors know if they are doing a good job

5. Duck Head can say in their commercials that they make the best looking khaki pants because
   a. it is true
   b. they researched their pants and found that Duck Head khakis make you look better
   c. Duck Head sells more khakis than any other company
   d. because "best looking" is an opinion
   e. because Duck Head pays money to so they can say that

6. Most of the things they say on TV commercials are true.
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. Undecided
   d. Disagree
   e. Strongly disagree

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7. TV commercials make things sound better than they really are.
   a. Strongly agree
   b. Agree
   c. Undecided
   d. Disagree
   e. Strongly disagree

8. How often can you tell how good a product is from television commercials?
   a. Always
   b. Almost always
   c. Undecided
   d. Almost never
   e. Never

9. How much do you learn about products from watching TV commercials?
   a. A lot
   b. Some
   c. Undecided
   d. Not much
   e. Nothing at all

10. When I buy something that is advertised on TV, most of the time it is not as good as they say it is.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

11. When someone famous tries to get you to buy something in a TV commercial, you can be pretty sure it is as good as he says it is.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

12. If I see something on a TV commercial, it always looks the same after I get it home.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

13. When I see products that look cool in a television advertisement, I want to rush out and buy them.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

14. Products that are advertised on television are better than products that are not advertised.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

15. Advertisements try to trick you into buying things.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

16. How many minutes of commercials are shown during a typical hour of television?________

17. How many hours a day do you watch television?_________

18. How many hours a day do you watch television with one of your parents or caretaker? _____

19. Commercial interruptions aggravate me when I am watching television.
    a. Strongly agree
    b. Agree
    c. Undecided
    d. Disagree
    e. Strongly disagree

20. What is your gender? Female Male

MULTIMEDIA FOR MORTALS: RATIONALE, RESOURCES, AND TIPS FOR INTEGRATING VISUALS, AUDIO, AND VIDEO INTO LECTURES FOR ADVERTISING COURSES

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ABSTRACT:

MULTIMEDIA FOR MORTALS: RATIONALE, RESOURCES, AND TIPS FOR INTEGRATING VISUALS, AUDIO, AND VIDEO INTO LECTURES FOR ADVERTISING COURSES

Developments in desktop computing, digital encoding, digital delivery systems, and the integration of these with the practice of marketing and advertising have progressed to the point where producing multimedia presentations for courses in advertising is a practical possibility for people who have no other specialized, technical knowledge than a reasonable familiarity with using personal computers. This essay presents a rationale, resources, and tips for using multimedia presentations in advertising courses.

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"Can he do multimedia?" a girl whispered. "Heavens no!" Arthur exclaimed. "He never inserted video in his life."

MULTIMEDIA FOR MORTALS: RATIONALE, RESOURCES, AND TIPS FOR INTEGRATING VISUALS, AUDIO, AND VIDEO INTO LECTURES FOR ADVERTISING COURSES

I suppose at one time or another we all have been all-thumbs when learning the latest instructional technology. Yet, developments in desktop computing, digital encoding, digital delivery systems, and the integration of these with the practice of marketing and advertising have progressed to the point where producing multimedia presentations for courses in advertising is a practical possibility for people who have no other specialized, technical knowledge than a reasonable familiarity with using personal computers.

This essay presents a rationale, resources, and tips for using multimedia presentations in advertising courses. Several reasons exist why multimedia is (or should be considered) crucial to advertising instruction (particular large, lecture-format introductions to advertising).

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First is the need for examples to aid understanding. Few disciplines present as large a pedagogical challenge as does advertising. In much the same way that the humor of a joke must be experienced directly instead of indirectly via summary or explanation, attempting to explain advertising without substantial examples severely impairs students' understanding. Modern advertising relies heavily on aesthetic effects (pacing, juxtaposition, sound/visual combinations, and so on) that can only be understood holistically. Thus, seeing and hearing actual examples is indispensable for adequate understanding.

Related to this is a second reason for using multimedia, which is the challenge of engaging students with examples, but without excessive practical problems associated with juggling videocassettes, overhead transparencies, and audio cassettes. Such problems are addressed below in more detail.

Third is the necessity of doing justice in the classroom to the degree to which advertising in digital forms (audio and video) occupies an increasingly large proportion of the output of advertising agencies as well as of students' own experience of advertising. With digital media technologies so prevalent, it is incumbent upon advertising professors to adequately recognize and represent this prevalence in their courses.

This essay begins by outlining key developments that have put multimedia presentations within the reach of even mildly computer-literate advertising instructors. It then presents a strategy for finding, adjusting, and integrating them into presentations.

Some familiarity with basic terms is assumed, as is a basic proficiency with standard computer tasks and software. Audio and video files are of course complex, but the knowledge and rules of thumb listed below should offer sufficient guidance. Lastly, in order to avoid littering the text with duplicate and unnecessary "http://www," exact web addresses will be listed only for those sites that are not composed solely of the company's name with a "http://www" before and a ".com" after.

INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNOLOGY IN ADVERTISING COURSES

The topic of pedagogical uses of computers has been heavily pursued, especially in the past 20 years. However, much of the literature on the use of computers in advertising courses emphasizes providing computer skills (most often quantitative data analysis) to individual students either in the traditional classroom or outside it as a part of a distance-learning course (rather than in a lecture setting) (Adler & Wilcox, 1985; Adler & Vanden Bergh, 1985; Oates, 1986; Lancaster & Martin, 1989; Ha et al., 1998; King & Morrison, 1998; Falk et al., 1999). Only recently has the emphasis on instructional technology begun to focus on in-class uses, such as in using an "electronic whiteboard" (Young, 2002).

In contrast to the literature on using computers in advertising courses (focusing as it does on building students' quantitative computer skills in settings outside the classroom), studies and practices of media literacy foreground the use of multimedia technology in the classroom for providing examples for critical discussion. "Critical" in this context refers both to enhancing students' abilities to innovate and improve in the context of a specific workplace or industry, or to enhancing students' understanding of pressures that shape and the techniques used in media representations (Masterman, 1985; Kubey & Ruben, 1996; Curry-Tash, 1998; Lacey, 1998; Celuch & Slama, 1999; Alvermann et al., 1999; Semali, 2000; Sliverblatt, 2001).

Bringing more discussion of in-class computer use to advertising pedagogy thus helps broaden the range of possible instructional resources for advertising professors as well as enhances students' understanding of modern advertising—particularly in digital forms. Applying practices typical of media literacy to the pedagogical challenges of teaching large introductory survey courses in advertising seeks to occupy a "middle ground" between classroom instruction and individual, computer-based instruction, therefore making greater use of the technologies and the opportunities it makes possible (Stinson & Claus, 2000).

PRACTICAL DRAWBACKS OF ANALOG MEDIA

Analog media (in particular overhead transparencies, videocassettes, and audio cassette tapes) have been with us for some time and, as a result, are generally familiar and comfortable to work with. However, they have a number of drawbacks which impair their usefulness for storage and retrieval of in-class examples.

The first set of drawbacks concerns the sizable amount of time needed to find, collect, and prepare examples. Options for finding examples typically consist of either hounding agencies for sample tapes, or spending one's own time at home endlessly taping, reviewing, and compiling—and, for people with access to videotape editing equipment, compiling their own edited tapes.

Even when examples have been prepared, additional drawbacks remain. Exact tape locations need to be noted, and the tapes queued prior to the corresponding lecture. Also, unless time was taken beforehand to edit examples onto a single cassette, additional time and energy is required during the lecture itself to swap cassettes and to switch between projected overhead outlines and a video projector, making it difficult for an instructor to keep one's train of thought focused in the midst of all this activity, and difficult for the audience as well, which generally finds all this excessive activity and delay quite distracting.

Finally, drawbacks to analog media don't stop when samples have been collected and catalogued. Wear and tear on materials used over a period of time means that tapes must eventually be replaced, especially if subject to excessive humidity, temperature, dust and dirt while in storage.

DIGITAL MEDIA TECHNOLOGY

Fortunately, the capability exists to effectively meet these presentation challenges with digital instead of analog media. This is due to a number of converging developments, with the most obvious regarding computer hardware and operating systems. Without today's fast processing speeds and the ability to address large amounts of system memory (particular that portion dedicated to video processing), digital video run from a desktop computer would be unthinkable. Large amounts of system memory make possible a smooth video playback. In addition, the development of disk drives of ultra-high capacity and speed enable easy archiving and retrieval. As an average 30-second video clip occupies about 1.2 MB of space on a disk, this large storage capacity is also crucial.

Developments in basic software complement those in hardware and operating systems. The emergence of desktop-presentation software ushered in today's widespread acceptance of computer-based presentations in business and education. Microsoft PowerPoint is the initial program, and it continues to be the one used most often. Introduced by Forethought in March, 1987 as a means for business executives to produce their own overhead transparencies and 35mm slides, it was bought by Microsoft in August, 1987 and has been a staple of its standard business software suite ever since (Mace, 1987; Parker, 1987).

Two categories of more specialized software complement developments in basic software. One is the emergence and refinement of desktop imaging software. Such programs are essential for scaling, cropping, and adjusting brightness, contrast, and color balance of images, as well as converting them to different file formats to fit the intended use. Photoshop, purchased by Adobe in 1989, remains an industry standard. It was initially designed for pre-press editing and retouching, rather than for working with electronic images for presentation from a projector or on-screen (Ponting, 1989). In addition, lower-cost shareware options such as Graphic Converter (http://www.lemkesoft.de/us_gcabout.html) can meet a good deal of basic needs at a very low cost.

A second category of specialized software that complements basic software is desktop video- and audio-editing programs. Although software that can play video and audio clips have long been a standard feature on computers, the availability of low-cost editors is particularly welcome for adequately tailoring multimedia clips for instructional presentations.

A second hardware category whose emergence and refinement has been central to multimedia is digital imaging—in particular, the availability of light projectors that can project color video images from a computer onto a screen. Such products were initially liquid-crystal-display (LCD) panels which were simply placed on top of conventional overhead transparency projectors. As can be imagined, such images lacked high-enough resolution and contrast for use in all but the smallest and darkest rooms. However, video projectors' images have developed to the point where, today, levels of brightness and contrast have reached near motion-picture theater levels, as have the sound systems reasonably capable of doing justice to the wide dynamic range of digitally encoded sound.

In addition to projectors and sound systems, related imaging hardware indispensable for building multimedia presentations is image scanners (for digitizing advertising originals from newspapers, magazines, and other printed media) and digital cameras, which, when combined with imaging software, provide the ability to capture and integrate non-published examples, such as billboards and event signage.

MULTIMEDIA AND INSTRUCTIONAL DEMANDS

Paired with the introduction and refinement of these technical capabilities is the increased emphasis in higher education on multimedia and computer-aided instructional technology in general (Baker & Blue, 1999). Yet, this increased emphasis has placed instructors in a very difficult position. The dilemma is that, just as the pressures to use instructional technology of various kinds increases, resources and support continues to dwindle due to budgetary reasons.

The result is that instructors have needed to become largely self-sufficient regarding instructional technology. Despite this, the software and equipment for creating computer-aided instruction has been until recently specialized, expensive, complex, and difficult to master. For example, efforts in 1985 at creating computer-based instruction required the services of professional programmers, and consisted in large part of developing courseware suitable for individual student use on campus or in distance-learning efforts instead of as enhancements to in-class lectures (Johnson & Sager, 1998; Caspers, 1998). A 1985 study estimated that it took 100 hours of development to create a one-hour module with then-current authoring software (Adler & Wilcox, 1985).

By contrast, general business software available today is far easier to use than the computer-aided instructional technology of 20 years ago. Furthermore, it can be easily adapted for instructional use, thus dispensing with the need for expensive, specialized software with a long, steep learning curve—a lesson increasingly put to use in the design and implementation of so-called "smart," multimedia classrooms (Christopher, 1995; Buchanan, 1996; Lee, 1998).

This increased accessibility has helped address the dilemma noted above. Not only is generic business software such as PowerPoint widely available, it uses easily learned or already familiar operation metaphors (such as "cut-and-paste" for moving data from one application to another). Such ease and familiarity flattens the learning curve and shortens development time, thus enabling more faculty to use it in their courses more easily (Grasha & Yangarber-Hicks, 2000; Kagima & Hausafus, 2001). Today, reasonably skilled instructors can put together on their own instructional resources that 20 years ago would have been taken a cadre of technical assistance and expensive, specialized software (Rajkumar & Dawley, 1994).

ADVERTISING GOES DIGITAL

Finally, what provides the rationale for using digital examples as well as supplies important sources for such examples is the increasing engagement of advertising agencies in digital multimedia. This increasing engagement depends in turn upon the availability and refinement of the Internet as a viable means of distribution, as well as the co-development of e-commerce.

It is wise to remember how recent these developments are. As recently as 1993, little interest or knowledge existed about how advertising agencies might make use of the Internet, which was initially seen as an on-demand programming source similar to pay-

TV (Landler, 1993). Due to this narrow view, the advertising industry lagged substantially behind noncommercial users in exploring possible uses (Eckhouse, 1993). Even when advertising agencies began to explore the Internet, such explorations were typically World-Wide-Web versions of traditional advertising forms (such banner ads, which are web versions of billboards).

While conservative adaptations such as this have met with little success, other, more innovative uses are currently being explored, all of which means that more video and audio is available on the web (Tomkins, 1999; Kong, 1999; Elliot, 2000). The initial appearance of digitized commercials on the Internet was on websites such as TVParty and Commercial-Archive, which were archives of commercials. By mid-1999, AdCritic (no longer in operation, but due to be resuscitated soon by Ad Age) became the most prominent source of digital clips of U.S. television advertising. It also allowed users to view, save, and post reactions to television advertising, thus also pioneering a niche as an additional way for advertising agencies to conduct creative research.

In addition to third-party archives, companies increasingly make their television advertising available on their own websites, or otherwise design cross-media campaigns in which digital media plays an important role. One example is Coca-Cola, which posts a page (http://www.ltg.Coca-Cola.com/) on which to view its current television advertising. Benetton hosts all its campaigns on its site. Other forms of cross-media campaigns include Nike television-Internet campaigns, and promotions such as Levi's for Super Bowl 2002, which directed viewers to its website to vote for which of three different ads would be shown during the football game (Allossery, 2000).

A media strategy even more organic to the web than video clips of television advertising is so-called "viral marketing." The term refers to the practice of releasing promotional materials on the web, then relying on word-of-mouth between users for their spread. A recent example of this is the series of mini-feature movies commissioned by BMW, which are publicized and spread by users who share the link to the website as well as the films themselves (Wallis, 2001).

Lastly, agencies and freelancers themselves are turning increasingly to digital media to aid their efforts at building their own businesses. In addition to an explosion of websites for individual agencies, this use has spurred the emergence of industry-focused web sites such as AdForum, GetCreativity, and the site for *Communication Arts* (http://www.commarts.com/CA/), which includes an Exhibits section.

These are only the most direct of a vast number of changes which together have produced the conditions today in which the resources exist for relatively easy production of a set of integrated multimedia presentations. Computing hardware and software have put more capabilities in the hands of instructors with average computer skills, and the embrace of digital technology by the advertising industry has provided a large, ready-made source of examples with which to build multimedia presentations in advertising courses.

ASSEMBLING THE PRESENTATION

Given the compelling rationale, the presence of generally available tools and of readymade examples, more needs to be said about ways of using these to produce some integrated, multimedia presentations for courses in advertising. Instead of focusing on the details of specific procedures, the interest here is simply to note important sources for examples and rules of thumb for their use.

Working with images. The term "image" here means examples that have neither motion nor sound. They can be print-based (magazine or newspaper) or—when a photograph is taken of it—out-of-home advertising.

Two options exist for collecting examples. The first (and easiest as well as fastest) option is to find examples on the web that are already digitized, then download them to your computer. Many sources exist that provide ready access to print advertising from a wide range of years. For older advertising, try The Emergence of Advertising in America collection is hosted by the Library of Congress, consisting of 9,000 images relating to the early history of advertising in the United States (1850-1920) drawn from the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University (http://memory.loc.gov/ ammem/award98/ncdhtml/eaahome.html). Ad*Access is a second useful source that draws upon a large collection of magazine and newspaper ads within the Duke University library's J. Walter Thompson Company Archives. It consists of more than 7,000 advertisements printed in U.S. and Canadian newspapers and magazines between 1911 and 1955. A web-based collection that spans the old (1940s) through the new is Adflip, which archives print ads in many different product categories. A third option that focuses entirely on the new is AdForum, which is an international site devoted to serving the advertising industry.

The second, more flexible but more time-consuming option is to find your own examples, then digitize them. Use an image scanner to digitize paper-based originals and photographs of out-of-home media. In addition, digital cameras can be used to take pictures of out-of-home examples, then transfer the image to the computer without the intermediate step of making a paper copy then scanning it. Useful for accessing a wide range of award-winning print advertising is the December issue of *Communication Arts*.

It contains many examples from newspapers, magazines, and collateral, and it has a high-reproduction quality as well as high creative quality.

Whichever source you use, you'll want to likely do some minor adjustments to them using image-editing software such as Photoshop or Graphic Converter. Most important is to be sure to save them in the optimal format for best color and fastest loading in Microsoft PowerPoint: JPEG format, and resolution of 72 dots per inch.

To best fit the standard screen size of 640 x 480 pixels, size your samples to fit maximum dimensions of either 550 pixels for width (for landscape-oriented images) or 440 pixels for height (for portrait-oriented images). Remember that enlarging an image makes it fuzzy, where reducing the size of an image does less damage to its sharpness. Thus, the rule of thumb is to get an image in the size you need or larger, then reduce ("scale down") if needed (never enlarge). If you scan your own images, you can scale them up to the desired size during the scanning process with fine results.

Often at the optimal presentation size, body copy can be difficult to read on the screen. Thus, if you want to be able to show the entire ad as well as to have the audience be able to read the body copy, reduce your entire image to fit the screen, then copy and paste only the body copy into a separate image file, sizing it according to the same maximum dimensions. In your presentation in class, first display the entire ad, then display the enlarged body copy.

Working with audio. Audio here means radio advertising. Sources for older radio ads include Old-Time Radio Commercials (http://www.old-time.com./commercials/) and the Library of American Broadcasting at the University of Maryland (http://www.lib.umd.edu/LAB/AUDIO/soundbites.html). Finding recent ads is more difficult. Searches with Internet search engines and terms such as "radio advertisements download" usually yield the best results. My favorite source for contemporary ads is Radio Savant (http://www.radiosavant.com/). You can also find contemporary radio ads at AdForum.

Audio files come in many different formats. Through my own experience, files in MPG (Motion Picture Experts Group) formats or variations of it are conveniently small in size, but seem to be prone to skip small portions of the soundtrack during playback. To eliminate the chances of this happening, save audio files in the WAV format—the resulting file will be larger, but will play more dependably. The software I find most useful for doing this is Apple QuickTime Pro (discussed in more detail below).

Working with video. Before discussing video, the primary point to keep in mind is the originators of such materials are making them increasingly difficult to save to a computer and build up an archive for use—largely, I suspect, for proprietary reasons. One typical way this is done is to use so-called "streaming video." Instead of placing a complete file on your computer for you to use, a "streamed" file is doled out a bit at a time over a live Internet connection. As a result, not only is the visual quality quite poor, playing such files requires that the instructor connect to and maintain a live Internet link during lecture, thus multiplying by many times the chances of technical problems and interruptions.

A second way content originators are making video clips difficult to save into a personal archive is to disable the Save As command on your browser. Such files are saved to a temporary storage folder (location and name depending on system platform and browser software used), which is usually emptied upon exiting the browser.

Two general rules of thumb thus suggest themselves. First, do not spend any time with streaming video files (often RealPlayer streaming video or QuickTime streaming video). Second, to save a file of the conventional (as opposed to streaming) variety, first view the clip in its entirety in your browser, locate the file in your browser's temporary folder, then, prior to exiting the program, move the file from the temporary folder to a different folder on your computer.

Inexpensive, easy-to-use software for working with audio and video is Apple QuickTime Pro. While the software needed simply to view video is free, spend the $30 to get the expanded QuickTime Pro version. Not only is it inexpensive and available in Windows and Macintosh versions (I use both), it uses standard software metaphors, such as cut-and-paste to move data within or between files, and easily converts audio and video files to a number of different formats.

In addition, QuickTime Pro can strip the audio track from the video and save the audio as a separate file. This is useful in a number of ways. For illustrating creative synergy between audio and video, an instructor can play one alone (audio or video), then play them together to underscore creative, synergistic relationships between them. For example, a recent video advertisement for the Snickers chocolate bar takes place in an optometrist's office, in which a person getting an eye exam was having a particularly hard time. The ad's voice-over asked, "Not going anywhere?" When including the video with the audio, extra layers of significance and humor become clear when it can be seen that the person having a hard time with the eye exam was a football referee, with the waiting room filled with referees.

Like image and audio files, video files come in a variety of different formats. Which you use depends on the operating system (Windows or Macintosh) you plan to use. One oft-used standard is QuickTime (MOV). However, while the Macintosh version of Microsoft PowerPoint readily accepts MOV files, the Windows version of Microsoft

PowerPoint does not, due presumably to Microsoft seeking to promote its own Windows Media Player software and standard over rival Apple QuickTime. Thus, if using the Windows version of PowerPoint, use QuickTime Pro to convert MOV files into AVI format prior to inserting them into your presentation. Keep in mind that the clip will lose some sharpness, especially if resized larger than 100 percent, so refrain from resizing (smaller is fine).

A second popular video format is MPEG (Motion Picture Experts Group). In my experience, video clips are more often found in QuickTime format (necessitating the conversion above if using a Windows computer in class), but those in MPEG format can be used in Microsoft PowerPoint on either platform (Windows or Macintosh) without conversion. In addition, the primary advantage of MPEG files is a greater ability to be sized in large frame sizes without getting fuzzy.

With the current inaccessibility of AdCritic, finding video clips is a bit more difficult. Yet, two favorites sites for video clips which still remain are AdEater and AdForum, both of which use video in MPEG format. The former is international in scope and has 20-30 years' worth of video advertising in some product categories. The latter is much more up-to-date, and creative work in many formats (image, audio, as well as video) is presented along with much other descriptive information. A third website, Getcreativity, provides good access to recent ads (MOV format). In addition, subscribing to the "breaking news alerts" keeps you up-to-date on developments in advertising creative, as well as provides links to get to award-winning ads.

Finally, the Advertising Council (http://www.AdCouncil.org/) archives its PSAs in video, audio, as well as in print. And the anti-smoking campaign "The Whole Truth" (funded by tobacco-settlement money by the State of Florida) has a fine set of PSAs (http://www.wholetruth.com/). The website for the state's Teen Tobacco Summit of 1998 also has video clips from earlier campaigns (http://www.state.fl.us/tobacco/summit/).

Guerrilla sites and alternative views of advertising. What deserves separate mention are websites that take an other-than-flattering view of advertising. Some sites are hosted by people who have worked in the advertising industry. Among them are The Advertising Graveyard (http://www.zeldman.com/_ad.html), which collects and humorously comments on examples of creative campaigns rejected by clients.

Other sites contain material that criticizes advertising and consumer culture by creating parodies of existing advertising. Such parodies are most often images, but some audio and video exist as well. Useful sites include AdBusters (http://www.adbusters.org/), the Badvertising Institute (http://www.badvertising.org/), and False Advertising (http://parody.organique.com/).

Assembling the presentation. Once all the samples have been gathered, the final task is to assemble them into a presentation. As has been alluded to earlier, Microsoft PowerPoint is the first and still the best choice of presentation software. It is included on most if not all computers as part of the standard array of software, and it can read all image, audio, and video file types discussed here.

It is also quite easy to learn and use. Images, audio, and video are integrated using a simple menu command (Insert Picture, Insert Sound, or Insert Movie). Once inserted, the media clip can be resized, its location on the slide adjusted, its appearance adjusted (such as brightness and contrast on visuals), and animation added to it to highlight and/or intensify its entry into the presentation.

CONCLUSION

With a little practice and experimentation, incorporating multimedia into in-class presentations is within the reach of anyone who has a reasonable familiarity with personal computers. Benefits include presentations without the juggling of tapes and overhead, more engaged students, and clearer understanding of advertising in all its forms.

Perhaps in the past your colleagues laughed when you sat down at the computer. However, with the equipment now available and a basic understanding of resources and tips, when you create your own digital presentations, they'll be (as it was said long ago in the apocryphal advertisement about piano lessons offered by U.S. School of Music) "pounding you on your back in their enthusiasm."

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E-business in the marketing communication curriculum:
Integrate, don't isolate

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E-Business in the marketing communication curriculum: Integrate, don't isolate

Abstract

Although discussion of e-business in the curriculum usually has roots in the marketing or computer science areas, implications are also extensive for the communication industry and deserve some consideration. This paper outlines the influence that e-business has on communication areas like advertising and public relations, broadcasting and journalism. The paper posits the argument that changes in the curriculum should be integrated across most or all existing courses, rather than creating a rash of independent new courses to address this issue. Issues such as how the marketing communication function varies with the Internet as a medium, to how broadcast and print news operations are influenced by this medium are addressed. The link to more traditional course offerings in marketing is also addressed in this paper.

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Introduction

Electronic (E-) business conducted on the Internet has already exceeded $30 billion in 2001 involving consumers and ten times more among business-to-business customers, and U.S. estimates are that spending will continue to increase through the first decade of the 21st century. (Cyberatlas, 2002) With over150 million people (60% of the U.S. population) with on-line access, this penetration rate far exceeds the growth of the last two new media in the U.S., television and cable. (Arduini, 2000) These people spend over eight hours per month online doing everything from shopping and chatting long distance with friends or strangers to finding outlets for charitable donations and engaging in unique forms of entertainment. (Cyberatlas, 2002) Internet users now have over 10 million sites to choose from, but the most popular sites, eBay and Amazon, focus on commerce. These factors have corporations in every industry scrambling to find employees capable of developing strategies and tactics to acquire a slice of this huge and ever growing business.

Higher education has responded in a number of ways, creating everything from degree programs and areas of specialization in e-commerce to offering electives that focus on specific aspects of e-business such as setting up a "dot com" company or designing Web pages. The biggest impact on the higher education curriculum has occurred in schools of business and computer science, where corporations have tended to look first for sources of Internet savvy graduates. Admittedly, the fields of marketing and computer science face the greatest changes in how normal business in their industries is conducted. Marketers must address entirely new conceptualizations of supply chain management, pricing and profit level strategies, market dynamics and organizational structure, not to mention changes in consumer behavior and approaches to buying. (Humboldt, 2000) Computer science focus has shifted from systems and network maintenance that primarily involved internal operations of a firm to creating Web pages that are the most visible link with key audiences outside the company.

However, there are at least four changes introduced by e-business and the Internet that have important implications for curricula throughout the campus, particularly in the field of communication. The Internet has forced a re-conceptualization of: 1) how people shop; 2) how they acquire information; 3) how they interact with one another; and 4) how they entertain, which are vastly different from how they did these things before the Internet. Without addressing these issues with students studying communication, programs will poorly prepare people to deliver information in the 21st century.

The shopping experience is revolutionarily different over the Internet. Shoppers can no longer touch the product, examine the package, know who sold it to them or who to complain to if they are dissatisfied with the product nor make a purchase with complete confidence that their financial transaction was securely executed. All these missing pieces change the criteria consumers use to make purchases and change the type of information they need in advance to persuade them to take the act ultimately desired by the seller. How they use the Internet experience with a product to modify their behavior at the traditional retail outlet is another re-conceptualization that marketing communicators must understand.

How people acquire information has changed dramatically. Information crucial to make purchasing decisions is now easier to access than ever. Take shopping for an automobile as an example. Twenty years ago all the information was in the hands of car dealers. Then *Consumer Reports* and other publications began revealing dealer markups on every make and model. But you still needed to visit a local library to review these sources, then visit a dealership to negotiate the final price. Today, all this can be accomplished on the Internet in a matter of an hour.

At the same time, consumers must be more critical of Internet information because of the inherent biases of these sources and the lack of an objective "gatekeeper" to screen out such biases. Consumers have already exercised a heightened "gatekeeper" role as evidenced by the failure of most Internet banner advertising to date. (Hwang, 2000) Instead, the concept of "permission marketing" has emerged as a new way to approach consumers with product information that they select. (Godin, 1999)

Audiences are no longer at the mercy of timelines set by the news media to distribute information. Updated information can be accessed 24-7 (24 hours a day, 7 days a week) on anything---news (local, national or international), weather, financial, sports. Audiences can access the information they need when they want it. This reverses the power of control long held by information distributors, which requires a better understanding of audiences and how they want this information packaged.

The Internet has introduced new ways for people to interact with businesses, strangers, even each other. Instead of drawing conclusions about a business from its location, the appearance of the facility, and the people they encounter, an Internet visitor uses "social associations" (Dominick, 1999) by assessing the business based on what links it has on its site, how easy it is to navigate to obtain the desired information and how unobtrusive the requests are for personal information.

Bulletin boards, chat rooms, personal Web sites and email have changed the way people interact with other people. The faceless, nameless anonymity offered by Internet communication has crumbled barriers of communication for people otherwise hampered by the inability to articulate thoughts and feelings. Internet communication tends to be more open and personal regardless of who is the intended source--stranger or friend. Theories of interpersonal communication need reconsideration given this new communication environment.

People entertain differently using the Internet. Entertainment can be sought on an individual's own timeline, not a television network's or movie theater manager's schedule. Content demands have changed as well, with live heart surgery, and the colon surgery of NBC news anchorwoman Katie Couric drawing huge audiences. These changes require new approaches to studying programming and entertainment, not to mention implications from legal and ethical perspectives since the Internet has no geographic, cultural, age or sometimes even tasteful limits. All forms of communication are impacted by the ever-growing role of the Internet in our lives, although the changes appear "more evolutionary than revolutionary." (Varadarajan, 2000)

The implications are acute for advertising, public relations and marketing curricula. This was made clear at an advertising education summit held at The University of Texas at Austin in 2001, when eight of the top ten future advertising issues presented by Scott Helbing, global brand strategist for Dell Computer Corporation related to the Internet. (Murphy, Burns, Leckenby, Morrison and Richards, 2001) Mentions of consumers wanting information packaged differently and holding greater control over receipt of that information, to message consistency across all media, directed to mobile

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targets, globally, with the lines between marketing and PR blurred, all require new ways of teaching advertising, marketing and public relations.

Educational Literature

The educational planning process is typically divided into four elements: determination of desired outcomes, development of curriculum to deliver those outcomes, use of pedagogy to provide instruction for the curriculum and assessment of learning (Coombs and Rybacki, 1999). Marketing communication programs seem to have already determined the desired set of outcomes related to Internet education, which include understanding the strategic (e.g., planning, research) and tactical uses (e.g., graphic design, writing) of the Internet for marketing purposes. At present, most programs are immersed in elements two and three: developing curricula and pedagogy to produce learned outcomes. But the approach to this planned curriculum is far from unanimous.

According to Daugherty and Reece (2002), in 1993-94 nine percent of advertising and public relations programs had integrated Internet discussion into existing courses while four percent offered separate Internet courses. This ratio of integrated to isolated course offerings continued until 1997, when the percentage of programs offering isolated Internet courses passed the number integrating such discussion. At present, about 65 percent of advertising programs and 57 percent of PR programs have adopted stand-alone courses, with marketing programs falling in between at 62 percent. Overall, 91 percent of advertising programs, 77 percent of PR programs and 79 percent of marketing programs have integrated Internet discussion into their curricula in one way or another. However, when asked what percentage of overall class time is devoted to Internet discussion when integrated into existing courses, 80 percent dedicated 20 percent or less.

Other efforts to integrate coursework in marketing communication curricula have met with limited success long before the Internet came along. Surveys of advertising and public relations educators concerning their attitudes and experiences with developing integrated marketing communication (IMC) programs during the 1990s shows widespread isolation of courses in advertising separate from public relations. (Pasadeos, 2000) In addition, advertising and public relations majors remain separate at many institutions, faculty research focuses on one area or the other and cites research from different sets of sources, and reading by faculty remains distinct, with 86 percent of PR faculty not reading advertising publications and 92 percent of advertising faculty ignoring PR publications.

Contemporary instructional models make the argument that stand alone courses do not encourage students to transfer skills and learning into their respective disciplines. (Wunsch and Tomkovick, 1995) These models support a curricular plan where at most one basic course is needed on Internet principles as they apply to communication. After that all remaining required courses need to address the implications of the Internet to the specific subject addressed. For example, an advertising copywriting course would need to address how writing for the Internet must be different than for other media. A broadcast production course would need to cover how video streaming and MP3 technology can be used to deliver programming over the Internet.

Even authors of research on computer-mediated (Blackboard, Internet) instruction show it's ineffective to teach technology separate from the courses using computer mediated resources (Witmer, 1998). Findings show instruction will bog down in

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technical details and lose learning impact. Applying this philosophy to teaching about the Internet once again argues for integrating discussions of the Internet when theoretical concepts are addressed so students can make the connections between the them.

Curricular Implications

Advertising

A majority of academic programs in advertising across the country are housed in schools of communication rather than business, and some experts believe they belong there (Marker, 1999), making the impact of e-business on higher education broader than in only business and computer science programs. With Internet advertising revenue already exceeding $6 billion annually and projected to top $33 billion by 2004 (Cyberatlas, 2002), any contemporary advertising curriculum must address the Internet.

At the very basic level, an advertising principles class must address the Internet as a viable media alternative to television, magazines or direct mail. Although calculated differently, the need exists for fundamental information on reach and frequency delivery on the Internet to assess it as part of a comprehensive media plan.

But the Internet's effects on advertising reach far beyond a media issue. According to Kevin Roberts, CEO, Saatchi and Saatchi, PLC, advertising agency, the Internet must change from a supplier of information to a developer of relationships. He says great brands have mystery and sensuality. The Internet must provide these things. "Think of 'e' not as electronic, but emotion," says Roberts. (Hwang, 2000) This suggests that advertising copywriting continue to teach the same principles on how to create effective brand advertising, but adjust the focus to how emotion and brand character can be transmitted via Internet messages.

Any communication research course must address a range of issues raised by the Internet. Students need to learn search strategies to navigate the morass of information available on any single subject. Database development using the Internet introduces the need for knowledge on strategies to acquire information and how to do it in an ethical manner. (Blackshaw, 2000) And using the Internet as a research tool to conduct surveys, experiments, collect panel data and more requires a careful analysis of the strengths and limitations of each technique compared to its non-Internet counterparts. (DeLorme, 2000; Wimmer and Dominick, 2000).

Media planning and campaigns classes cannot ignore the Internet for its variety of options: banner ads, email, sponsorships and interstitials. Ad design courses must address the importance of look and feel for a successful Web page. Again, there is no course in this curriculum unaffected by the Internet, which argues for integrating such discussion rather than isolating it to maximize the connections students make between the Internet and advertising in general.

Public Relations

Chapter two in a widely cited book, *Public Relations on the Net* (Holtz, 1999), is entitled, "How communication has been changed forever." The chapter goes on to compare the industrial economy of the past to the information economy brought on by the Internet based on four characteristics: top-down v. networked communication structure; quantity v. quality communication; batch-processed v. customized messages and producer-driven v. customer-driven communication needs. The two economies clearly reflect substantial differences in communication strategy, but it's more likely that computers and cable television ushered in the information economy in the 1970s, not the Internet in the 1990s.

Hence, public relations has already adopted many of these changes. It just happens to have a new outlet to distribute this information, and that is what must be integrated into all courses in a PR curriculum. Like advertising, public relations messages must be written with consideration for the unique circumstances Internet users bring to this medium. Lessons need to teach writing in "chunks" or small, concise blocks, provide context anticipating the myriad of links that may have brought different readers to the same material, and other writing approaches unique to the Internet. Receiver-driven communication (Holtz, 1999) provided when the audience member wants it (e.g., 24-hour response to a complaint filed over the Internet) rather than the "shotgun method" aren't new strategic approaches, just more intensive ones.

Press releases written just like those distributed by mail or fax will not work the same way over the Internet. Reporters now expect visuals to accompany all text, links to easily access additional background information and other conveniences to make their job of building news inventory easier.

The Internet's global reach allows public relations practitioners to bypass traditional media outlets to distribute information direct to key "publics" without the role of the media gatekeepers. This opportunity requires the learning of new communication strategies and theories to replace old ones made obsolete by the Internet such as agenda setting theory. Activism and crisis communication strategies change when public relations officers no longer must rely on media assistance to distribute a message. Ethical and legal issues accompany the relative freedom of having one's own international medium to distribute information.

Fund raising via the Internet requires a new strategic approach that must be addressed by a public relations curriculum. The same techniques that worked through direct mail or telephone solicitations in the past don't meet the demands of Web donors. And Web donors are not to be ignored, with over eight percent of weekly Internet users making donations that average two-to-three times more than the average offline donation. (Spethmann, 2000)

Customer relationship email, corporate e-newsletters, reminder services, order confirmations, customer complaint sites, permission list marketing, co-op marketing and event follow-up are tactics commonly used by public relations personnel that have changed when done over the Internet. (Kaydo, 2000) As these standard tactics are addressed in any public relations course, the implications introduced by the Internet must be integrated into the discussion.

Marketing

Clearly, the curricula with the biggest adjustments to make in the Internet era are in the business schools. The marketing mix must be revisited for e-business, with price and promotion playing different roles, place or warehousing and distribution facing a total revamping, not to mention changes in consumer behavior and approaches to buying. A new component to the mix, customer experience, plays an expanded role in the business structure of the Internet. "Customer experience is key. Place and price are less relevant with Internet shopping. Quality of customer service, on-time delivery, product performance, shipping and handling, privacy policies" are what bring people back and make them lasting customers. (Couture, 2000)

However, success on the Internet still relies on fundamental principles of good marketing. Understanding customers, data mining, delivering what consumers need simply and conveniently and at a reasonable price are still essential to marketing success on the Internet or elsewhere. Every course covering these topics needs to be adjusted to accommodate implications of the Internet. For example, the marketing research course needs to address the strengths and limitations of using the Internet as a data collection channel. Consumer behavior courses must address theories that account for how consumers can be influenced when the only window to experience a company is limited to a computer screen instead of a retail outlet with sales reps, controlled ambiance, point-of-purchase displays and the like. Only selective new courses that focus on Internet intricacies such as permission marketing or Internet supply chain management are needed to deliver the necessary background graduates in these two areas need to excel in e-business.

Other affiliated curricula: Broadcasting, Journalism, Communication Law

Other communication curricula often closely aligned with the fields discussed above also face implications due to the Internet.

Broadcasting

Because the Internet has introduced a new way for audiences to be entertained and informed (on their own time schedule, controlling the desired depth or lack of coverage of a topic, etc.), many broadcasting courses must address new ways to approach program content, scheduling and promotion. The biggest impact on broadcasters may not be how to change programming on their traditional delivery systems, but how to extend the product onto the Web in interesting and attractive ways. Two recent examples of applying the "brand extension" concept of marketing to broadcasters using the Internet are SyncTV, which supplements network coverage of the professional basketball playoffs with updated statistics on demand and live chat sessions with analysts, and EnhancedTV, which allows viewers to play along with contestants on televised game shows like "Who Wants to be a Millionaire." None of these implications warrant a 16-week course on the subject. Instead, these topics must be woven into every broadcast course dealing with programming and promotion.

Journalism

The biggest issue facing journalism and the Internet is how to package news. Every news medium has a Web site, and several (*NBC-TV, ESPN, USA Today*) are among the most popular sites. (Cyberatlas, 2002) Media sites generally offer extended coverage (both verbally and visually) beyond what is found in their traditional outlets, and instant updates, which changes journalism from an industry with established deadlines to running deadlines 24-7. These and other characteristics (e.g., streaming video) of the Internet require new approaches by would-be writers, who must approach story ideas differently, write differently and know enough about technology to transmit usable information instantaneously.

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The lines between print journalism, broadcast journalism and photojournalism are disappearing, with a single reporter responsible for copy, visuals and a continuous stream of updated reporting more typical of broadcasting media coverage. Reporting and editing classes must simply add modules on writing for the Internet while photography classes must include instruction on digital cameras and uploading visual files. The September 11th tragedy required a new way of delivering breaking news in a concise, stripped down, but constantly updated Web version to accommodate unprecedented traffic levels. (Seib, 2001) But the fundamentals of defining news and presenting it in an accurate, interesting and organized way still apply in the world of the Web.

Communication law

Communication law courses must confront how to approach the regulation of Internet communication. Is it broadcasting, cable, telephone, journalism or commercial speech? Each field has unique legal foundations that drive regulatory policy and most, if not all of these areas are already covered in a traditional communication course, making the integration of Internet discussions easy.

Conclusion

There is no question the Internet and e-business has made a monumental impact on the world. Customers' relationships with companies remind one of the days of consumer interactions with the general store, the blacksmith and the local undertaker. And, herein lies the key to curricular approaches to the Internet. The Internet has allowed society to evolve back to a day when relationships made a difference, when the individual had greater control over what they wanted to experience and what they wanted to avoid. The concepts are as old as paper and pencil. Marketing communication curricula must continue to teach the same principles, but wrap them around an Internet context.

The "isolation" approach does come with several advantages. Isolated courses on Internet Page Design are easier to market both to existing students and to potential students and parents who can see these course listings in an academic bulletin. Isolated courses taught by just a few instructors also means less institutional investment in bringing select faculty up to "state of the art" levels. Attendance at workshops, seminars and conferences hosted by groups such as American Ad Federation and Public Relations Society of America chapters, the Internet Ad Bureau and other trade groups, not to mention subscriptions to Internet publications, library resources and tech support can be costly to support for many institutions.

But the tradeoff must consider what's best for the students. With a few exceptions, such as stand alone courses on non-profits and the Internet, social implications of the Internet and Web page presentation, successful academic programs must **Integrate, not isolate**. The outcomes will include better educated students and a more educated and stimulated faculty enlivened by the excitement that has accompanied this new technology's penetration into our daily lives.

Once these curricular matters are settled, educators can concentrate on element four of the educational planning process, assessment of outcomes. Assessment of conceptual learning can come in the form of assignments and exam questions that tie basic concepts of marketing communication to the Internet, such as papers assessing Web sites and their strategies and tactics, comparisons of on-line versus traditional message formats such as advertisements, annual reports and news releases. Skill assessments can be done by requiring class chat room discussions and on-line assignments to evaluate Internet information search skills and comfort levels of interacting with the Internet (Coombs and Rybacki, 1999), or assigning banner ads and other on-line writing exercises to assess adaptability to the new technology.

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